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NICARAGUA VISITED

IN SEARCH OF SANDINO: 1978

MARC LINDENBERG

In 1928 when Carleton Beals, a correspondent for *The Nation*, conducted the first interview between a North American journalist and Augusto Sandino, leader of the Sandinista Movement of Nicaragua, he spent weeks on horseback, traveling circuitously through rugged country to evade the U.S. Marines and reach the guerrilla leader. A visit with the leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) this year was not nearly so taxing. The problems were those of waiting on street corners for clandestine meetings, switching cars and traveling on back streets. Waiting for the interviews took considerable patience, because the leadership was constantly on the move. The Sandinistas were in the midst of planning a new military offensive. The organization had to restructure itself to absorb new adherents. But probably most important, major political changes were in the wind and no interview would take place until the implications of these changes became clear.

During the ten days between my initial contacts and the eventual meeting, the Broad Opposition Front (FAO), whose program the Sandinistas supported, began to disintegrate. The FAO, a loose collection of organizations, was held together by its common commitment to a plan which included: (1) immediate end to the forty-year rule of the Somoza family and exile of its members; (2) installation of an interim triumvirate of FAO leaders until the 1981 elections, and (3) implementation of a 16-point plan for the democratization of Nicaragua. Several

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CALIFORNIA CEREMONY
Joseph R. Gusfield

WOMEN AND THE TIMES
Marion Knox

USELESS FENCES
Carey McWilliams

MINA SHAUGHNESSY'S CONTRIBUTION
Benjamin DeMott

VIOLENCE AND JUSTICE
Diana Gordon
Aryeh Neier

PEACOCK'S CEMENT

THE PAHLAVI FOUNDATION

ROBERT GRAHAM

More than any other single factor, money and wealth are the cement for Mohammed Reza Shah's system of government. He has refined and adapted time-honored practice. In 1910, when an American, Morgan Shuster, was brought in as Treasurer General in the first attempt to organize Iran's chaotic finances, he discovered that some 100,000 persons received annual handouts, most of which he considered "pure graft." On one authoritative estimate almost a quarter of all state revenue at the turn of the century was devoured by these so-called pensions.

In the past the monarchy was able to bind its power base with money either by controlling state revenues or by amassing a large private fortune. More often than not these alternatives were indistinguishable since there was little practical division between the private wealth of the Shah and state funds. The modernization of the administration and the advent by the mid-1950s of a regular and sizable income from oil, coupled with the expansion of the economy, has made the reward system more complex. Of necessity the distinction between state funds and the private wealth of the Shah, albeit on paper, has become more clear-cut. The budget has been institutionalized so that a specific allocation is now made for the "Supreme Leadership of State" which in 1976-77 amounted to $43 million.

More important, the expansion of the economy and the increased revenue from oil have resulted in a shift in the direct burden of reward—away from the royal purse and onto state funds. The budget is even used

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LETTERS.

CROSS-REFERENCE

Glen Cove, N.Y.

Your editorial "Pro Bono" [*The Nation*, Nov. 4] lauds the NCARL for having stopped "Son of S. 1, whose number, as S. 1437, it definitely had." But Tom Miller, in "White Cops and Chicano Corpses" (same issue) hails a "small, but significant, change in the law" to be found in the same bill. Obviously, you feel your readers are sophisticated enough to . . . realize that the two statements are not necessarily mutually exclusive. However, since they must then conclude that S. 1437 was neither all good nor all bad, were you not, as editor, called upon to make some sort of footnoted cross-reference to bring this point home? *Harold J. Salemson*

The left hand did not know. *The Editors.*

GUNS ARE GOOD

Harrison, Idaho

. . . I should like to remind *The Nation* that in this country there are liberals as well as middle-of-the-roaders who oppose registration of firearms in principle.

In support of this stand I'd like to point out that in any large-scale confiscation of firearms it would be the right wing—already occupying close relations with the military and the police—who would keep their guns while the rest of us lose them.

That Allende could not have been overthrown in Chile till the common people, factory unions and small landowners were effectively disarmed.

That the foreign-assisted domestic government of Vietnam was resisted and finally overthrown by a people whose growing ownership and familiarity with guns laid the groundwork for revolutionary action on a large scale.

It is my conviction that here in the United States the control of abuses represented by the proliferation of the Saturday night specials will not be achieved without support from the citizen owners of sporting arms and that this support will never be gained without more understanding by editors of magazines like *The Nation*.

Bert Russell

POLITICS OF POETRY

New York City

It's a curiosity of the age that the politically liberal magazines tend toward reactionary taste in poetry—an inversion of the "Pound era," with its conjunction of right-wing politics and revolutionary poetics. This is clearly the case in your recent "Poets' Choice" [*The Nation*, Nov. 11] where ten poets (at least eight of whom could be classified as "academic") were asked to recommend new books. Not surprisingly, Hecht chose Kumin and Nemerov; Nemerov chose Kumin; Kumin chose Nemerov; Merrill chose Hecht, and on and on. Almost all selected almost anything published by Atheneum or Ecco—not coincidentally the publishers (in book or magazine form) of most of these poets. All this was "in the hope that titles which would ordinarily escape the attention of a literary editor would turn up." In fact, these were the same, and the only, poetry titles to receive critical attention and honorary spoils during the year.

The year 1978 saw the publication of a number of important poetry books, and though my personal list is of no interest, three publishers who persevere largely in the absence of official recognition should be cited: New Directions, Black Sparrow, The Elizabeth Press. Contrary to the evidence in *The Nation* and other major reviews and journals, there are more than a dozen poets (and their disciples) in America, and many of them are far more engaging.

Eliot Weinberger

Mr. Weinberger has a point, but the fault is not ours. We asked a full range of poets, including Gary Snyder, Allen Ginsberg, Robert Bly and others to name books we might have missed. We were especially disappointed that they did not do so. *The Editors*

UNCONFUSED ECONOMICS

Boulder, Colo.

I am a physicist and, in Professor Lekachman's phrase [Phase III: The Bankers Win," *The Nation*, Nov. 18], unconfused by economic training. I tend to take a rather straightforward view of such physical systems as the economy.

Recently, in another attempt to stem inflation, the Federal Reserve Board raised interest rates all over the country. Rates on existing loans must average 5% or 6%, perhaps higher. The total debt owed by all sectors is about twice the gross national product. (The federal budget deficit, incidentally, accounts for only about 15% of the total debt.)

Therefore, each dollar spent has been borrowed twice over and really costs (let us say) $1.10. It seems to me that this fact almost guarantees a minimum rate of inflation approaching 10% per year, because on average it takes $1.10 to buy a dollar's worth of goods or services.

I am familiar with the argument that raising the interest rates will slow down the economy and reduce inflation. Maybe. But my reasoning suggests that inflation will never be reduced substantially until either interest rates or the total debt are themselves reduced substantially. (It also explains why we can simultaneously experience inflation and recession, and suggests that a small rate of inflation is a necessary consequence of borrowing.)

Thus, increases in the interest rates will cause more inflation, not less, unless the rates become so high that investment is reduced catastrophically.

Is there any evidence to show that the Federal Reserve Board is right and I am wrong? *Dr. Matt Young*

WHITE HOUSE LAWN

New York City

On Labor Day 1978, the American writer Grace Paley and ten associates left a White House tour, walked out on the White House lawn and opened a banner which said: "No Nuclear Weapons! No Nuclear Power! USA or USSR." At approximately the same time, seven other Americans displayed a similar banner in Red Square in Moscow. Both groups distributed leaflets urging an end to the arms race and the use of arms-race funds for human development. The Americans in Moscow were let off with a reprimand. The Washington group faces misdemeanor charges, which could carry up to six months in jail, in Superior District Court in Washington on December 4.

The PEN American Center, an organization of 1,600 leading American writers affiliated with international PEN, calls on the American Government to reduce or dismiss these charges. We cannot stress too strongly the shock and dismay that will be manifest in the literary community, and in the larger world as well, if this very important American writer and her associates are sent to jail for a peaceful expression of opinion. We base this appeal not on the rights and wrongs of nuclear armament but on the principle of the right to free and open nonviolent expression in a free society. President Carter has on many occasions spoken eloquently of this right in terms of other countries; we respectfully ask him now to defend it at home.

Richard Howard, President, PEN
Dore Ashton, Chairperson,
Freedom to Write Committee

The Nation welcomes letters from readers. Please furnish name, address and zip code. Name will be withheld upon request.

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EDITORIALS.

Withdrawing From Nicaragua

Fifty years ago the editors of this magazine sent Carleton Beals to the northern mountains of Nicaragua to find and to interview for the first time a "bandit" named Augusto Sandino. (See Marc Lindenberg's follow-up of Beals's reporting on the front cover.) As has been the case with many other Third World nationalist leaders, this particular "bandit," as he was called in the American press at the time, was waging a fierce guerrilla war against the occupation of Nicaragua by American Marines.

After five more years of protracted warfare in which the lives of hundreds of American soldiers and many thousands of Nicaraguans were lost, the Sandino rebellion was finally repressed. In a familiar gambit, the Americans adopted what we might today call a *Vietnamization policy*; U.S. troops withdrew, leaving behind the now infamous National Guard, a police force of native Nicaraguans trained and equipped by U.S. Marines.

At the head of this surrogate army, the U.S. State Department placed one Anastasio Somoza, a Nicaraguan businessman who had once attended business school in the United States and was a door-to-door salesman in the Philadelphia suburbs. Somoza negotiated a cease-fire with Sandino's army in 1933. San-

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dino agreed to disband his army only after the U.S. Marines departed. His trust in the Guardia and Somoza cost him his life. Five years after Carleton Beals's mountainside interview, Sandino emerged from a Presidential dinner and was assassinated by Guardia officers at Somoza's command.

Somoza spent the next twenty-three years consolidating his regime with strong American support until his own assassination in 1956. First one son and then another inherited his wealth and dictatorial powers. Our generation's Anastasio Somoza today is besieged by a political coalition bearing the name of the martyred Sandino and commanding the support of the vast majority of the Nicaraguan people. More than 3,000 lives have been lost in recent months. The Guardia has indiscriminately strafed and bombed residential districts of cities like Leon, Esteli and Matagalpa. Guardia troops, the majority of which have been trained by the U.S. Army in Panama and bear American (and increasingly Israeli) weapons, have carried out multiple executions of civilians. American television reporters have shown us the mass graves on camera.

The Guardia atrocities of last September were so graphic and so well documented that even the U.S. Government seems finally convinced that Somoza will never again be able to restore law and order.

If the administration has decided to dump Somoza—a decision reportedly taken last month during a meeting of a Presidential review committee—the American mediation effort is nevertheless still wedded to the preservation of that vehicle of American intervention, the National Guard. The Sandinistas understand this time that nothing will change in their country until the Guardia is disarmed, an event that Washington will work very hard to prevent.

Thus, very little has changed since Carleton Beals met with Sandino fifty years ago. Our government still refuses to recognize Sandino's political heirs. And though no U.S. Marines occupy the country, the Sandinistas today face a military adversary that would not exist but for U.S. tax dollars.

It now appears likely that Somoza's refusal to leave the country quietly will lead to another round of civil war. In this troubled context, it becomes all the more important for a U.S. administration ostensibly committed to human rights to consider any one of a number of immediate alternative policies. Among them: U.S. diplomatic recognition could be withdrawn and withheld until Somoza resigns. The U.S. military mission could be permanently withdrawn. A trade and arms embargo could be imposed under the aegis of the Organization of American States. And to enforce an international embargo, corporations shipping under a Liberian flag, for instance, could be told by U.S. authorities that they will not tolerate the kind of multinational subterfuge that has made a farce of the Rhodesian boycott. And finally, Nicaragua's and Somoza's own personal U.S. assets could be frozen.

A final American withdrawal is long overdue. But perhaps it is too much to expect this administration to break the cycle of foreign-inspired violence so vividly reported a half century ago by Carleton Beals on the trail of Sandino.

Symbolic Politics

It used to be that one could get a fair grasp on the dilemmas facing U.S. policy makers by reading the dailies. But our understanding of the political upheavals in Iran as in Nicaragua—complicated as they are by the nuances of foreign religious factors, extreme economic disparities and long histories of external intervention—has been frustrated by the media, which have, for the most part, ignored, mis- or underreported, the circumstances under which the Shah came to and maintains his power. (See Linda Heiden, "The Peacock Throne Under Siege," *The Nation*, October 7.)

We had hoped for enlightenment from our friends at *The New Republic* when we spied an article on Iran by Robert Moss ("The Telltale Signs of Soviet Handiwork, Who's Meddling in Iran?," December 2), but his thesis that the Shah's difficulties are caused primarily by Soviet intervention is made suspect by his previous history as author of a book on Chile that was, according to *The New York Times*, financed by one of the CIA's front organizations, and by his service as director of the National Association for Freedom, an extreme right-wing lobby in Great Britain.

Our own investigations have persuaded us that a more reliable guide to the Shah's fortunes may be found in a book entitled *Iran: The Illusion of Power*, by Robert Graham, a *Financial Times* reporter who spent two years in Tehran.

The excerpt on the Shah's relationship to the Pahlavi Foundation (see front cover) is taken from this impressive volume, which will be published in this country by St. Martin's Press in January.

On another subject—the controversy surrounding Gay Rights in this country—we went to the sociologist Joseph Gusfield, perhaps the country's leading student of symbolic politics, in the belief that the Gay Rights issue cannot be understood on civil liberties grounds alone (see p. 633). And indeed, as this issue was going to press the news of the double assassination in San Francisco of Mayor George Moscone and City Supervisor Harvey Milk, one of the nation's few elected officials to publicly acknowledge his homosexuality, violently confirmed our suspicion. Milk himself had earlier suggested that the gay community might become the target of violent attacks in the wake of the defeat of the Briggs initiative, and gays saw genocidal symbolism in his murder. Professor Gusfield's analysis helps us see a new dimension of these tragic and troubling events.

Finally, it might be mentioned that Marion Knox's report on the recently concluded class action suit brought against *The New York Times* on behalf of its women employees and Carey McWilliams's statement on the government's attempt to solve the problem of illegal immigration through the construction of fences, both involve substantial elements of symbolic politics. As Gusfield observes, ceremonial government (including the courts) "illustrates the role of the state as a cultural force—as a medium of communication defining the realities of a moral environment."

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SALT's Escalation

If this were even the second best of all possible worlds, we and the Russians would quickly agree to destroy nine-tenths of our nuclear arsenals and start beating the atom into ploughshares. Not having reached even that sub-Panglossian level of civilization we are instead faced with the prospect of a drawn-out debate over a strategic arms limitation treaty, SALT II, that really limits very little. This is what lies ahead if, after six years of talk, the negotiators at last produce a document properly sealed, stamped and delivered to the potential ratifiers or rejecters in the Senate of the United States.

It now seems likely that such an instrument will in fact emerge from the labyrinth curiously labeled Arms Control, and so it is perhaps time to take a look at the shape of it and at the politics that will determine its fate (along, as they say, with the fate of mankind).

SALT II will be something like a brake on an escalator. That is, nuclear weapons will keep increasing in both quantity and quality, but the rate of ascent will be slower than if it is completely unchecked. The braking will be done in the name of stabilization, balance, equivalence, MADness (mutual assured destruction) and a number of other euphemisms. We are asked to assume that new horror weapons would breed uncontrollably if there were no SALT II. So it is all about measure and degree. The USA and the USSR will still be able to annihilate each other X times over, but the factor could be X plus Y, with a few tens of millions more potentially dead or maimed, here or there.

It is not so much quantity of missiles and bombs that obsesses the SALT negotiators but quality. That means, mainly, accuracy. Crude measurements like "throw-weight," which once so worried the likes of Senator Jackson, are now out. It is quite generally accepted that we could put our megatons within a few yards of their targets in the USSR while theirs might be hundreds of yards off-target. Chalk up one for the USA's superior technology. Hardly any of the experts with their calipers bother to figure whether this pinpointing would kill or spare the odd million or more human lives if it came to the fatal "exchange."

Since "quality" is now increasingly the name of the new nuclear game, it is strange, and disturbing, to find American officialdom apparently talking out of both sides of its mouth on this question. For instance, in November of 1977 Paul C. Warnke, head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (who will retire so as not to complicate the SALT II ratification, since he is seen as pro-SALT—what else could he be?) told a Washington group that "we hope it will mean at least the beginning of stopping the qualitative improvements of nuclear weapons which are potentially destabilizing." In June of this year, on the other hand, the State Department declared in a booklet called "The SALT Process" that SALT II "would not inhibit us from continuing the planned development of new weapons we may need for our security in future years." It seems reasonable to ask whether our aim is onward and upward in weaponry or simply sideways.

On the politics of the thing, President Carter is doing everything he can think of to set the stage for ratification. He is upping the military budget. He is setting aside a couple of billions for "civil defense"—that seems to mean solemn "planning" for evacuating cities somehow, no more nonsense about "shelters," causing *The Economist* of London to headline its story "Evacuous." The hawks will be appeased even before the treaty hits the Senate. It is said that some of Carter's closest advisers, frightened by the destruction of a handful of pro-SALT doves in the November election, are urging him to avoid ratification problems with a treaty and make a simple "agreement" with the USSR on the grounds that ambiguity would be better than defeat.

In Moscow all the signs are "Go" on SALT II. The Russians are doing nothing to muddy the waters; Americanologists there are popping up regularly with statements comparing the difficulties of winning acceptance for the treaty within their governing organs with the conflicts here between State, Defense and National Security Council, not to mention Congress. Brezhnev casually remarks that the USSR toyed with the neutron and let it drop (not as a bomb). Given the states of the two economies, and the two systems of alliances, there can be no doubt that it would be more of a strain on them than on us to speed up the arms escalator. But they could do it, for sure, and march on with us, adding to the "almost uncontrolled thicket of horrendous mutual overkill," in the words of the physicist Bernard T. Feld in the November *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists.*

SALT II will do so little, and that little so tentatively, that one could quite easily oppose the treaty were it not for the political symbolism attached to it. If the Senate turns it down, not only would American arms expenditures rise much more sharply than the steady increase now figured through 1985 but it would signal a sharp deterioration of relations with our great Russian adversary. It would not mean the unthinkable hot war, which is spectacularly against the interests of both sides and of all humanity but it would certainly bring a deep rechilling of the cold war, with new and dangerous conflicts everywhere.

With these dread considerations in mind, and even with some small hopes for eventual strategic sanity, it is possible to raise at most two cheers for the completion and ratification of SALT II, against all the odds.

The Politics of Political Prisoners

One of the Carter administration's most strident complaints against Castro and the Cuban Government has been directed at their holding of political prisoners. Yet in early September when Castro offered to release them and allow them free emigration to the United States, our first response was delay, confusion and mystification. Not until last week did the Justice Department finally

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announce an ambivalent "speedup" which would still mean a prolonged process.

The stumbling block has been Atty. Gen. Griffin Bell, who (perhaps stimulated by overblown FBI fear of "spies") concocted an absurdly complicated and lengthy screening process for the prisoners who wish to emigrate. Although Castro publicly hoped that the process—which includes more than 4,000 prisoners, some of whom have been jailed since 1959— could be completed by January of next year, under Bell's initial system it would have taken at least ten years. If "speeded up" as promised it will still take more than six months. There seems little justification—or precedence—for the delay. In the mid-1960s the Attorney General used his powers of parole to admit in one stroke some 950,000 Cuban refugees and even last month Bell used his parole authority to admit 25,000 Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees by April 1979.

Bell's tardiness, and even hostility, in his personal supervision of the immigration matter has put the State Department in the embarrassing position of pressing for the prisoners' right to emigrate even as it is being delayed by the Justice Department. The matter lies outside their jurisdiction, hence the State Department officials cannot make their frustration public.

"Castro has been very quick to capitalize on the situation," one State Department official confided last week. "He's been telling the prisoners, and the Cuban public, that they are free to go. It's just the 'democratic system' of the United States that is holding them up.

"You have to realize that Bell is a 'backwoods folksy' politician," he went on, "and doesn't want to bring Reds into the country." Another State Department source confirmed this impression of Bell's provincialism. "Bell is the one holding it up, and he's unwilling to let them in because he thinks 'a Commie is a Commie,' whether or not they've been jailed for political beliefs. This episode implies that our human rights policy is applicable everywhere except in the United States."

Bell's screening process has three stages. After the Cuban Government provides a list of names to be considered for immigration, the Justice Department conducts a thorough name-check in the United States. The resulting profiles are given to a team of officials from the Justice Department (including the Immigration and Naturalization Service and the FBI) which travels to Havana for extensive individual interviews. The resulting reports are sent to Griffin Bell, who personally reviews them, case by case, for a final decision. It took nearly two months to screen the first forty-six and their dependents, and although pressure from the press has led Justice to announce an intended acceleration of the process, the compromise seems negligible. Now Bell has promised to screen some 400 per month, but Justice Department officials were unable to say whether that figure includes dependents. (The State Department estimates there is actually a total of some 9,000 people to be screened when dependents of the political prisoners are added to the list.)

Other questions concerning the process have been clouded in secrecy and misinformation, including the standards for admission and the number of prisoners denied. John Russell, a press spokesman for the Justice Department, claimed that the answers did not lie with Bell's office but with the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Administrators at INS stated in turn that they were forbidden to answer by their superiors in the Justice Department. Russell then declared that the release of any more procedural information would "endanger the privacy" of the prisoners under consideration, but finally relented enough to say that two applicants were not admitted from the first group—while refusing to give the reasons.

In the meantime, the two major journals of record have been in dispute. *The New York Times* has reported that the first list submitted by Castro contained forty-six names, and that all were admitted. *The Washington Post* stated that one applicant was not admitted because he did not appear for questioning. But someone involved in the process has told *The Nation* that two applicants, one a prisoner, one a dependent, were not admitted; one did not appear for screening, and the other was excluded after he was picked up on a petty criminal charge in Havana shortly after he was released from prison.

Russell was at a loss to explain the need for such a lengthy screening process. Besides the well-publicized fear that Castro will use the release program to infiltrate the United States with Cuban spies, Russell also cited moral considerations. "We don't want Castro emptying his jails into the United States to get rid of his common criminals," he said, adding, "We just don't want a bunch of pimps and whores coming in."

It is always a difficult matter to balance the requirements of national security (here, the possibility of infiltration) against the requirements of democracy (the promise of an open society), but in this case it seems clear that Justice went too far in its procedures and its spoken and unspoken apologia.

The entire affair is a poor commentary on a Carter administration that offered a hope for bureaucratic reform and at least some degree of immunity from bogus national security rationalizations. On both scores in this instance, the administration has failed miserably.

ANNE NELSON

Anne Nelson writes on Latin American affairs. She is currently at work on a book about Puerto Rico.

Minnesota Peasants' Revolt

A handful of Minnesota farmers have until early next summer to stop two giant utility coops from completing construction of a 427-mile, high-voltage power line that creates easements through 8,000 acres of prime farmland. The electric storm over Minnesota has significance for the whole nation, since other battles of the public versus utility companies are taking place in New Hampshire, Oregon, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio and Montana, and the outcome of this single biggest con-

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frontation thus far sets a precedent of sorts.

The rich black soil is sacred to men who kneel upon it to plant a seed. They look upon the wasting of land as a sacrilege the way a religious man regards the defilement of a church. As property owners, the reaction of farmers to having a swath of land cut from their holdings is not unlike the outrage a shopkeeper might feel if ordered to relinquish an aisle of his store for the public good. And in addition, farmers fear for the welfare of their families and livestock, if these are brought into close proximity with very high voltage transmission lines.

Minnesota's latter-day peasants' revolt began in 1974, when word zipped over the agricultural grapevine that the Cooperative Power Association (CPA) and United Power Association (UPA) planned to construct a 1,000 megawatt, low-grade coal burning plant in Underwood, N. Dak. to provide additional energy to the Minneapolis area.

At first, farmers worked through the political system to battle the power line. They attended public hearings, approached their representatives in government, and urged the co-ops to develop alternative sources of energy. Individual farmers began equipping their homes with solar power and wind power to make them less dependent on the utilities.

Traditionally as conservative as coveralls, few of these farmers had ever before protested against anything. Yet by June of 1976, many had banded together into an angry army. Guns were brandished and a utility co-op employee was wounded during a skirmish. A half-dozen steel towers were toppled and expensive construction equipment was destroyed. More than 100 farmers were arrested.

These violent actions cannot be condoned, but they are understandable. Farmers displayed genuine human emotions—anger, fear and frustration—in the face of a relentless attack by an impersonal giant. Moreover, at a protest rally attended by 350 demonstrators last October 29 at the site of a CPA-UPA converter plant outside Minneapolis, spokesmen for the farmers urged followers to eschew violence in favor of civil disobedience. At the conclusion of the rally, nineteen persons took one symbolic step over a police line in order to be arrested and focus public attention on their cause. (In mid-November a Minnesota jury found them not guilty of trespassing charges.) If farmers continue to adhere to a peaceful course of action during several other planned protests this winter, they can only gain additional support from moderates.

An examination of the power line controversy dictates that public support go to the farmers, not to the utility co-ops. Before the utilities turn the juice into the power line next summer, the public needs reassurance that they are fiscally and morally responsible. Thus far, they have been found lacking in both respects.

First of all, the utilities have failed to control project costs. Originally, the power line was estimated at $537 million. In 1978, that estimate rose to a whopping $1.2 billion, and is expected to go higher in 1979. Prof. Wendell Bradley of Gustavus Adolphus College, after completing a cost analysis of the project, has charged that "there would appear to be a $25 million cost overrun which cannot be attributed to normal escalation or unexpected costs" (such as vandalism by farmers).

Since the project is financed by federally controlled loans, it may behoove the Carter administration to investigate this apparent mismanagement of public moneys. At the very least, utility administrators owe co-op members an explanation for the 66% increase in their utility rates that goes into effect next summer. One wonders what might have been accomplished if a similar sum of money had been appropriated to explore a power source alternative to the burning of low-grade, nonrenewable fossil fuel.

Second, the power co-ops have demonstrated insensitivity to the fears and concern of farmers over the safety of their people. The utilities rejected the request of farmers to form an impartial "science court" to investigate the effects of living close to a high voltage power line. Considering the thousands of American workers who have contracted cancer and heart disease from long exposure to job-related substances once thought safe, co-op officials would do well to ponder the moral and legal implications of putting human guinea pigs into an untested environment.

The relatively small amount of research available on power line health hazards is disturbing. A 1977 summary of electric field studies by New York University Medical Center researchers Asher Sheppard and Merril Eisenbud finds that prolonged proximity to high voltage may cause damage to the central nervous system, blood chemistry and bone tissue—as well as producing neurological symptoms.

Third, many ploys used by the co-ops are unethical, if not actually unlawful. Farmers have found the utilities' tactics to be so reminiscent of Nixon-era shenanigans that they refer to this controversy as "Powergate." For example, official transcripts of hearings by the supposedly impartial Minnesota Environmental Quality Commission were discovered to be missing large blocks of important testimony that could have damaged the utilities' case if considered. Farmers charged that the hearings had been a sham and a waste of taxpayers' money. In another development, the utilities admitted hiring four "dirty tricks" experts to stir up disputes between farmers and utility employees. When things got hot enough, county-paid law-enforcement officers had to be called, thus saving the co-ops the expense of hiring private security guards. Conversations of farmers were electronically monitored and protest leaders were put under surveillance.

In short, Minnesota's electrical co-ops have shown themselves unworthy of public trust, and one begins to wonder if there is really such a crying need for additional power sources in Minnesota.

The function of a public utility is to serve its consumers. From all available evidence, Minnesota's utilities have done their rural customers a great disservice.

HANK NUWER

Hank Nuwer is a Los Angeles-based free-lance writer whose work appears in national magazines such as Audubon, Human Behavior, Us *and* New West.

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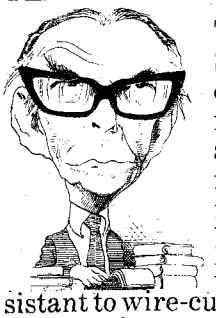
SECOND THOUGHTS

CAREY McWILLIAMS



The Immigration and Naturalization Service (Department of Justice) has come up with a proposed stopgap measure to check the influx of illegal aliens from Mexico. It would build a new 6-mile fence to replace the existing rickety one that marks the border between El Paso and Juarez. The new fence would be hard to climb and resistant to wire-cutters but would not be topped, as is the present fence, with barbed wire. A similar 6-mile fence, 12 feet high with concrete footings and steel latticework, would be constructed along the border at San Ysidro, adjacent to Tijuana. These two sectors of the border account for slightly more than half the estimated 1 million "illegals" taken into custody last year. At present only about 27 miles of the 2,000-mile border are fenced, mostly near the major border crossing points: San Ysidro, El Paso, Calexico, San Luis (in Arizona) and Brownsville, Texas.

The proposed new fences would cost between $2 million and $3 million. INS officials believe they would divert the flow of illegal migrants away from urban crossing points into more isolated areas where they could be easily spotted by the Border Patrol—in itself, a dubious assumption. For the time being the project has been postponed. The reason given is that INS Commissioner Leonel Castillo, whom news stories invariably identify as being "himself of Mexican-American background"—as though that insured the soundness of his conclusions—wants to be sure that the new fences are so designed that they will not injure any who might attempt to cross them. But isn't the danger of injury part of the deterrent? If the existing fence has not worked, and it hasn't, then what reason is there to believe new and stronger, but safer, fences might be effective?

Aside from such practical misgivings, the proposal is badly timed and bespeaks insensitivity. It would dramatize an inflexible determination on our part to deal with the problem unilaterally, that is, to turn the faucet of migration on and off as suits our convenience and needs. Perhaps that is the meaning of sovereignty, but the New Deal proponents of the Good Neighbor policy thought otherwise.

There is little reason to think the proposed new fences would reduce border crossings significantly, and they would almost certainly complicate border relations. Each month nearly 11,000 illegals are arrested in El Paso and returned to Mexico but the INS is convinced that many times that number enter and disappear into urban El Paso. But for years "illegals" have been tacitly welcomed in El Paso as sources of cheap labor and as customers. The fact is that the economies of towns close to the border on either side have become closely interrelated and interdependent. Just recently, for example, El Paso and Juarez became official sister cities. A large portion of the migrants whom the INS characterizes as "illegals" might better be thought of as commuters; they cross the border to shop, to sightsee and to work or look for jobs. The others—those in desperate need of work—are not likely to be deterred by a 6-mile fence. Since many of them have come to Juarez from the interior of Mexico, they will not hesitate to walk a few extra miles.

What is needed has been said so often that it has become monotonous: intelligent cooperation between the two nations, as friendly neighbors, to reduce the influx and bring it under closer control based on a clear-eyed recognition that the 2,000-mile border is the product of a unique set of historical, economic and geographical factors. These factors continue to be ignored. A sensible first step would involve the financing of labor-intensive industries in Mexico which would provide more jobs for the migrants who move north from the interior in the hope of getting across the border. But suggestions of this kind are opposed by special interests who fear a reduced sale of American-made products in Mexico or a drying up of the pace of cheap labor.

At best, construction of the proposed new fences would give residents on this side of the border the comforting illusion that measures were being taken to "close the border," which is the invariable rallying cry of those who want the benefits of illegal migration without any of the disadvantages. Naturally Mexican-Americans regard the proposed fences as irritating and offensive symbols. Should they be constructed they would stand as a monument to our unwillingness to devote fresh thinking to a century-old problem which we prefer to ignore except during recurring intervals when it gets out of hand.

Ironically newborn babies are not regarded as "illegal" migrants. Even as the INS proposes to fence sections of the border, a flourishing baby-adoption market has developed in Mexico. Childless American couples eagerly tour the Mexican border cities in quest of babies to adopt. Much of this traffic is illegal, that is, babies are simply given, or sold for fairly substantial prices, to American couples who then smuggle them across the border. It is described as an invisible traffic, since the babies never come to the attention of INS officials. Sometimes pregnant Mexican women manage to get across the border so that their children may be born in this country and then turned over to adopting parents or agencies. An attorney in San Diego is quoted in *The New York Times* (November 13) as saying that there are places in South Tijuana, "sort of like a supermarket," where American couples can pick a baby from a roomful of them.

Politically, the proposed fences are a cop-out for the INS. They would be relatively cheap and easy to construct and would give the impression that the border traffic, babies excepted, was being brought under control. The service knows better but it knows also that neither Congress nor the President is willing, just now, to consider more sensible programs. The administration would be well advised to shelve the fence proposal and dust off some of the other recommendations, based on sound Mexican and American studies, which it has in its files. Gimmicks and gadgets won't solve problems as complex as this one. □

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ARTICLES.

PROPOSITION 6:

Political Ceremony in California

JOSEPH R. GUSFIELD

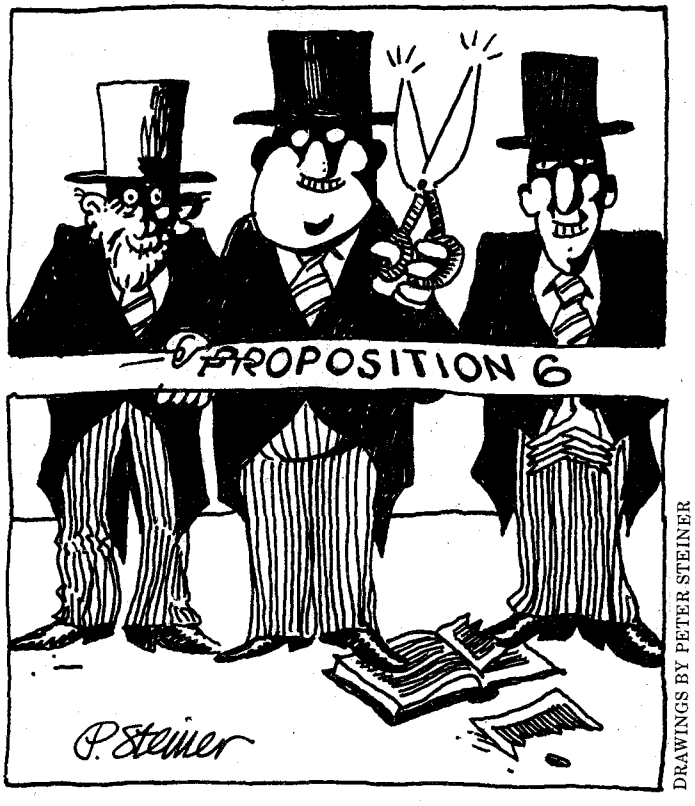
The legacy of Hiram Johnson's Populist attempts to create a more direct democracy by resort to referendums and recall continues to be a striking feature of California politics. The passage of Proposition 13 (the Jarvis-Gann proposition) was the news from California several months ago; the rejection of Proposition 6 (the Briggs initiative) is a significant story in the November elections there. However, the two measures are strikingly different. Proposition 6, titled the "School Employees. Homosexuality. Initiative Statute" is another in a long string of moral issues in American politics, issues that reflect the importance of government as a ceremonial and symbolizing agent. Such public questions should be distinguished from the bread-and-butter issues of interest-group politics. They put on traditional American pluralist politics the heavy burden of accommodating to their strident, volatile and moralistic tone.

The fight over Proposition 6 occurred in the context of a newly developing tolerance in American society toward homosexuals and the still more recent success of anti-Gay Rights measures in local elections in several parts of the United States. Anita Bryant's victorious campaign to repeal anti-discriminatory legislation in Dade County, Fla. made the most headlines, but the defeat of homosexuals in Eugene, Ore., a liberal, university community, was perhaps the contest most disheartening to the movement. All of this effort to repeal, rescind and defeat Gay Rights measures was occasioned by the growing acceptance of homosexuality on the public scene. "Sexual orientation" has been more and more joined to race, creed and the equality of women as a right to be defended.

Proposition 6 was aimed at teachers who engaged in "public homosexual activity," defined to include both criminal and noncriminal actions, and "public homosexual conduct," which included advocating or encouraging private or public homosexual activity "directed at, or likely to come to the attention of, schoolchildren and/or other employees." (See Michael Castleman's "Proposition 6 and the Rights of Us All," *The Nation*, October 21.) Such actions were declared grounds for failing to hire or for dismissing public schoolteachers. A complex procedure for review and appeal was included. Teachers who kept their homosexuality in the closet were clearly exempt. State Sen. John Briggs, who proposed and championed the initiative, repeatedly maintained that it was not designed to control private behavior. Indeed the California legislature had removed homosexuality between consenting adults from its list of crimes several years ago.

A widely reported case in Healdsburg, a small city in Northern California, illustrates the dilemma that the change in legislation had made in situations involving homosexuality. Larry Berner, a schoolteacher in Healdsburg, announced that he was a homosexual. Some townspeople tried to have him fired but could not show that his conduct warranted dismissal, since his homosexuality was not in itself criminal. Neither was he accused of incompetent teaching, sexual molestation or even teaching about homosexuality to his second-grade students. Further, he had not engaged in any of the public acts of homosexuality which remained criminal under the state penal code, as some public acts of heterosexuality remain criminal. Proposition 6 appeared designed to "get" someone who, like Berner, made public his or her sexual orientation. However, Briggs's often stated claim to respect the privacy of sexual habits seemed to be genuine and the initiative seemed only an argument about public actions and about the particular place of teachers in the development of children.

Yet a closer analysis of the campaign suggests a wider interpretation. Proposition 6 was not only a proposed law that would affect the public behavior of teachers; it was also a way whereby the meaning and place of homosexuality in American society could be defined and evaluated. Its functions as an instrument to achieve a goal are less significant than the fact of its acceptance or rejection by the voters. Whether it would have or could have been implemented is less vital than the fact that it was rejected. That intrinsic



DRAWINGS BY PETER STEINER

Joseph Gusfield is professor of sociology at the University of California, San Diego.

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character is what I have in mind in labeling the Briggs initiative a symbolic and ceremonial political act.

The history of such legislation does not suggest that Proposition 6 would have been frequently or widely used. It is a cumbersome proposal, and the vagueness of its definitions would have laid it open to many court challenges. The complicated form of procedural reviews would have been expensive. However, the existence of the statute might have been used as a threat.

At the same time that California voters rejected the Briggs initiative by 58% to 42%, they resoundingly supported (by 71%) a referendum measure to make the death penalty more readily available in certain criminal cases. Such "tough-on-crime" measures are among the oldest and least effective measures for diminishing crime in the armaments of governments. With great noise and sweeping gestures candidates parade a "tougher-than-thou" posture toward criminals and accuse their opponents of being "soft" when they fail to support harsh sentences. Evidence persistently demonstrates the uselessness of such measures. Repeatedly, judges, juries and prosecution do not carry out death penalties. (Even in the 13th century, death sentences "on the books" were seldom imposed.) When criminals are executed, there is no sign that their fate deters others. In fact, the death penalty has been disappearing from use in American justice, whatever the legislation on or off the statute books.

Cynics may smile at these instances of popular expression in government, seeing them as no more than citizens flexing the muscles that Populist campaigns develop to counter elite government. A more sinister view of such political acts as the Briggs initiative and the death penalty measure (Proposition 7) might find government by direct referendum an ineffective form of ceremonially observing the legitimacy of public opinion while lulling the voter into a false assurance of power. It drains political energy and anger away from central concerns of power distribution, channeling them into useless attempts to legislate behavior. The political scientist Murray Edelman calls such public displays cases of "symbolic quiescence"; they make voters feel something has happened when the situation is actually unchanged.

Both the cynical and the sinister views of moral legislation seem to me to miss a crucial dimension of American political life that issues like Propositions 6 and 7 exemplify, ceremonial though they be. Political actions do several things at the same time and different measures do some in greater degree than others. In one dimension, acts of government are means to specific ends; instruments to achieve goals. The Social Security legislation takes money away from some and gives to others, or to the same at different stages of life. Aged citizens do receive funds from the state. But political acts are also acts of communication; they tell as well as do. Prohibition is a glaring instance. Whether or not Americans drank more or less during the Prohibition period, the 18th Amendment conferred public disapproval on drinking. It increased its significance as a disapproved if not deviant form of behavior. The ups and downs of legislation regulating the sale and use of marijuana are similar. Whatever may be the effect of law on the smoking of pot, the statute grants a meaning to the public acceptance or rejection of the behavior; it affects its moral status.

Proposition 6 was another instance of such ceremonial or symbolic politics. Whatever its direct impact might have been on school employees, its greater significance was its public declaration that homosexuality is deviant behavior—i.e., its challenge to the changing view of homosexuality brought about as part of the Gay Rights Movement. During the campaign both proponents and opponents often denied this broader implication and attempted to argue their case as if the teaching function were the main issue. Supporters claimed that teachers were in a special position to molest children; that they were sexually attracted to children; that they were powerful role-models in the process of child development; that they would teach the virtue of homosexuality. Opponents attacked the factual basis of the proposition, saying that most child molestation is by heterosexuals, that homosexuality is not caused by role imitation, that in any case teachers don't have that kind of power as models, that homosexuals are no more interested in children than are heterosexuals, that competent teachers do not teach or advocate any sexual pattern. Such arguments presume that the effect of homosexual teachers on their students is the major concern of the contestants; they accept the "child-protection" rhetoric of Proposition 6 supporters and treat the initiative as means to an end—preventing homosexuality.

The liberal aproach of the ACLU, which opposed the statute, was to deny it was a question of defending or supporting homosexuality. It was a matter of the civil rights of persons, whether teachers or not, to their own sexual habits and to stating what it is. Some of the gays and the anti-gays were closer in seeing it as a measure about the meaning of homosexuality: was it a deviant behavior, to be hidden as shameful, or another way of loving, to be openly proclaimed? In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* about a month before the election, John Briggs was clear that his aim was to roll back the rising tide of acceptance for homosexuals in America. "... The problem is that we are becoming a very permissive society because our leadership is pushing us that way." Some gays saw the campaign as a way to educate the public about gays and dispel the myths about homosexuality. I heard one gay minister argue in a public debate for the rejection of Proposition 6 because it would prevent teachers from acquainting students with the positive side of homosexuality, of indicating the variety of sexual expression open to human beings.

Given a measure whose implementation was doubtful, the symbolic effect of its victory or defeat assumes importance. Neither passage nor rejection of Proposition 6 was likely to affect homosexual acts in any direct fashion, but such ceremonial acts are far from insignificant; they confer or recall meanings. Gay Rights won a victory in the protection of homosexual schoolteachers. The movement won even more by further establishing homosexuality in American culture as a

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viable sexual alternative; less and less "unnatural" behavior.

Such issues have been part of the American political scene for a long time, although they appear in greater profusion today. Abortion, pornography, drugs, drink, sexual behavior and criminal punishment evoke great emotions. They do not involve clear-cut interest groups, class conflicts or even ethnic identities. Far from being a sideshow to the main tent of American politics, they are issues of great strength, leading contestants to dedicated and organized activities. Politicians and legislators shy away from moral questions; they are too volatile and too difficult to be resolved through the bargaining processes of pluralistic politics. Perhaps that is why they so frequently emerge in popular referendums. The legislative procedures are not capable of reaching viable compromises acceptable to unorganized constituencies.

The politics of economic interest and class conflicts still have an important hold on American political institutions, but ceremonial and symbolic issues begin to pre-empt space customarily reserved for a more instrumental politics. Issues like Proposition 6 or the death-penalty measure do not lend themselves well to the horse trading, bargaining and violent conflict so deep in American history. We have learned how to resolve and "deal" with economic and class issues; how to get labor and management, white and black, Protestant and Catholic into the bargaining room and how to conduct negotiations. No such institutional machinery is there to "handle" straights versus gays, right-to-body versus right-to-life, hard-core versus no-core, or tough versus soft on crime.

American politics is still talked about as if it were only about organized interests; fights over the conditions of economic action or the distribution of goods and services. The ceremonial government exemplified in the anti-Gay Rights initiative and the death-penalty measure in California illustrates the role of the state as a cultural force—as a medium of communication defining the realities of a moral environment. John Briggs has the last word: "... the only game in town is laws. Government has supplanted *The Wall Street Journal*. ... Government is the whole ball game." □

WHY THEY SETTLED

Women and The Times

MARION KNOX

"We *love* talking about *The New York Times* case," Harriet Rabb said. Ms. Rabb is the co-director of Columbia University's Employment Rights Project (and assistant dean of Columbia Law School) who represented the women employees of the *Times* in their affirmative action suit against the paper. "We" also includes the named plaintiffs—Elizabeth Wade Boylan, former copy desk head; Louise Carini, accounting department clerk; Joan Cook, reporter; Nancy Davis, former telephone solicitor in the advertising department; Grace Glueck, art reporter; Eileen Shanahan, former domestic correspondent and Andrea Skinner, news clerk. Five hundred and sixty other *Times* women joined in the class action suit, and a number of them were in the audience at the American Place Theatre, where Ms. Rabb spoke a few weeks after the settlement.

It was a happy audience. The suit, filed four years ago and charging that the *Times* favored its male over its female employees in hiring, promotions and pay, was settled recently out of court. The terms were approved last month by a Southern District Court judge, and the *Times* has agreed to pay $350,000—in legal fees, cash payments to the plaintiffs, to others who gave depositions, and in annuities to the class. (Women with twenty years or more of service will receive $1,000; those with fifteen to twenty, $500; those with ten to fifteen, $300, and so on.) The *Times* has also agreed to establish hiring "goals" in twenty-four job categories that range from top management positions (such as publisher and executive vice president) through foreign correspondents and copy editors to sandwich makers in the company cafeteria.

Despite its obvious concessions, the *Times* rather triumphantly claims that the settlement represents "a total vindication ... and a full refutation of the charges against us." In announcing the agreement, *Times* executive vice president James C. Goodale said: "The termination of this lawsuit is in distinct contrast to the multimillion-dollar agreements made by other companies in similar suits." Referring to an already existing affirmative action program at the paper (the *Times* has contracts with the federal government), Goodale went on to say that the agreement requires no "unscheduled promotions or any major changes in the company's ongoing program."

The fact is that in many departments the old program didn't come anywhere near what the women won from the *Times*. There had been no goal for top corporate positions. Now the *Times* is committed to placing a woman in one out of every eight of these high-level jobs during the four-year life of the settlement. In the reporter-editorial and writer-critic category, a goal of 33% has been set; the old goal was 23%; current representation of women at this level is 22%. In the data processing, computer operator category, the goal is 40%; the old goal, 26.7%; actual representation, 10%.

The *Times* insists on calling the monetary awards "annuities" (rather than back pay) and maintains that the settlement "requires no new or retroactive salary increases." In a further burst of obfuscation, the paper says: "We recognize that society has in the past burdened some women in ways that prevented or delayed career advancement or denied equal opportunity. We are establishing a modest annuity plan, an investment of $230,000, with payments to be made to our women

Marion Knox, a correspondent for Time, *is at present on leave to write as a free lance.*

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employees upon their retirement."

Again, the facts are that, while the total award to the women is smaller than that given, say, to women at NBC or *Reader's Digest*, the class of plaintiffs in the *Times* case is smaller. On a per capita basis, *Times* women will receive more than did those who brought the two other suits. And to complete the picture, *Times* women need not wait for retirement to receive their annuities, but can cash them whenever they wish.

The *Times* case is a significant step in the development of Title VII litigation (Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of sex). For one thing, it was more complicated than previous cases. According to Rabb (who has wrestled with *Newsweek*, the *Reader's Digest*, the New York Telephone Company and a number of Wall Street law firms), the early 1970s were salad days for affirmative action lawyers because women and blacks and other disadvantaged minorities were so frequently (and provably) excluded from opportunity. "In 1971," she said, "the Employment Rights Project was involved with a case at *Newsweek*. Not only were there no women in management and no women in submanagement jobs but there was only one woman writer. It was very much like the New York Telephone case, where women held jobs at grade levels one to seven, and men held jobs at grade levels seven to twenty-one. You didn't have to be very sophisticated to understand that women simply didn't get certain kinds of jobs. While there wasn't very much money to be made for these women (there was no equality in the work, so it couldn't be argued that they were being paid differentially) something could be said about lost promotional opportunities. Basically, we had to convince the court, and the defendant, to move women into jobs which hadn't previously been allowed them."

The *Reader's Digest* case, which went to court in 1973, was a kind of interim situation. The company's work force of many thousands was 80% female, and all the women were either in the lowest paying jobs where they worked, without men, stapling requests, filling out-baskets, emptying in-baskets, etc. Or they worked, with men, in professional editing jobs, but earned considerably less. They went to court. *Reader's Digest* defended itself with two lines of argument. One was that, despite the Equal Pay Act, there could be no equal pay claim from the women who worked in the lowest paying jobs because there were no men with whom to compare them. As for the women who did work with men, the *Digest* argued that no two people performed the same job, thus no question arose of equal pay for equal work. Rabb replied: You can't have it both ways. Either the women do the same jobs, in which case they have been deprived of equal pay, or they don't, in which case they have valid claims for promotion. (A class of 5,635 *Digest* women was awarded $1,375,000 in back pay.)

"When we got to *The New York Times* case," explained Rabb, "we began to make some equal pay noises, not because there were vast hordes of women working in nonintegrated jobs but because the *Times* is organized by the Newspaper Guild, and as far as the Guild is concerned a reporter is a reporter is a reporter, etc. We had a basis for arguing that people had comparable functions. The Equal Pay Act and Title VII allow another defense against equal pay claims—a quality differential, the idea that a substantial difference in the quality of people's work permits different pay. But, in discovery procedures, we found sufficient documents in correspondence files and personnel folders to show that there were many, many men whose work was not considered as good as the work of many, many women who were earning less and doing the same kinds of job." (The plaintiffs read through hundreds of pages of employee personnel records and correspondence files of ten top-level *Times* managers provided by the newspaper pursuant to court instruction.)

"So the *Times* came up with a new defense, and I fear that this is the wave of the future," Rabb went on. "It was: 'We pay everyone according to his or her market value. We pay the Guild minimum and then just as much more as is needed to draw people to work for us.' Now, you can imagine that the person who earns just over the Guild minimum is usually a woman. If you can hire blacks and women for less than you can hire

COMING NEXT WEEK
SPECIAL ISSUE
**BLACK AMERICA:
A DECADE AFTER WATTS**
Roger Wilkins, Charles Hamilton,
Carey McWilliams, Herbert Hill

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whites and men, why should you ever pay them more? After fourteen years of Title VII's existence, we find . . .the employer *forthrightly claiming* the right to pay disparate salaries as a matter of principle. . . . There's nothing written about it; nobody's considered how you counter the argument since it's such an *unthinkable* defense."

As it turns out, so many *Times* women never had been asked what their prior earnings were and, according to Rabb, there were so many comments on paper about the poor quality of the men's work despite higher salaries, that in fact (rather than in law) the *Times* argument was shaky. But the "we-pay-the-market-value" defense (which has been advanced in other cases) as well as two recent Supreme Court decisions have put affirmative action on somewhat treacherous ground. One Supreme Court decision (*Evans* v. *United Airlines*, 1977) limits under certain circumstances how far a lawyer can go back into company history to show patterns of discrimination. The other (*United States* v. *Teamsters*) makes Title VII cases two-stage affairs. Even after discrimination is proven, each plaintiff and member of the class may be required to come forward and make a claim individually before receiving any money. To modify these decisions, lawyers must address evidentiary rules and modes of proof.

Despite these decisions, which make winning affirmative action cases more difficult, the Title VII statute is still strong. It still prohibits discrimination, and it is being well used. (Suits against the Associated Press, City University of New York, *Newsday* and the Western Electric Company are pending in courts.) *The New York Times* case is important because it was *The New York Times* and because the plaintiffs were able to argue a case despite management's complicated and subjective judgments about work, promotions and salaries. The settlement will be tightly monitored, pursuant to court order. Annual reports are required and Rabb adds: "The sanctions built in for noncompliance range from facing angry mobs in your office, to something simple, like contempt of court."

If the women's suit was so strong, why did they settle? Rabb explains: "The *Times* had been engaged in a public relations blitz that is not becoming to it, advancing the idea that society has burdened women with the will to faint and to gasp and not to work or want good jobs, and as a result some older, long-service women had grown up thinking less of themselves than they should and were due some money. Hogwash. We have settled every suit we've ever been involved in because these cases *ought* to be settled gradually by the people involved who understand what is possible and what's not. After we had filed eighty Equal Employment Opportunity Commission charges—more than I've ever filed in any one case—we offered the *Times* a chance to settle and they said no, they wouldn't pay a penny to the women. They weren't going to give us even a *peppercorn* in back pay. In late September, the lawyer for the *Times* called me and said he had been authorized by his clients for the first time since the litigation started to talk settlement. I asked if he was prepared to talk money. He was. The *Times* called it annuities because they didn't want to call it back pay. If you call it a big yellow bus, it's a big yellow bus even if it looks a whole lot like a wristwatch.

"At the point in which the *Times* was seriously negotiating, one of the offers they made to us was that we withdraw the lawsuit as an element of the settlement and that there be no continuing court enforcement. This was at a late-night meeting in our office—three of us on one side of the table, four of them on the other. And I said: 'Why should we ever do that? Persuade me why we should do that. We went to court in 1974; the women have been struggling and arguing with you since since 1970. Why in the *world* should we withdraw this lawsuit? After all, you'll make reports to us about whether you're meeting the goals and what will we do if you're not? Eat them? And the *Times*'s general counsel looked me square in the eye and said: 'Harriet, you'll just have to trust us.'"

Last month, the *Times* announced the appointment of a new sports editor. She is Le Anne Schreiber, 33, who will head a staff of fifty-five reporters, editors and columnists. □

Sandino '78

(Continued from Front Cover)

days before the interview the Doce, a group of twelve prominent businessmen, academics and church leaders who are considered informal representatives of the Sandinistas, withdrew from the FAO and negotiations with the Somoza regime. They charged that the international mediators, in particular those from the United States, had intervened in an effort to insure "the survival of Somozaism without Somoza."

Several days after the Doce withdrew from the FAO a time and place for my interview was set and I found myself in the house of a Nicaraguan refugee family in a lower-middle-class neighborhood. The house had the look of impermanence. The room for the interview was bare, except for a mattress on the floor, a crate filled with books and a child's painting of a volcano. We brought in two chairs and I sat down to wait for Humberto Ortega Saavedra, a member of the National Directorate of the FSLN.

Humberto, a slight man in his 30s, with straight black hair, a dark mustache and distinctly Indian features, entered and greeted me warmly. I reached to shake his hand and found, to my surprise, that he raised it with difficulty. He took off his coat, laid his automatic pistol on top of it, and sat down across from

Marc Lindenberg is an assistant professor at the Graduate School of Public Affairs, University of Washington. He is working on a book about Central American politics and travels frequently in that part of the world. From June 1975 through January 1977 he directed the Public Management Program at INCAE, the Central American Management Institute in Managua, Nicaragua.

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me. We joked briefly about the difficulties of arranging meetings, and then eased into a discussion of his family history. Humberto's father became involved in Sandino's movement in 1930 and was imprisoned when the National Guard found letters from the leader in his possession. His mother, as he put it, "suffered repression" in the 1950s. His brothers, Daniel and Camilo, have been involved in the movement as well. Daniel, also a member of the National Directorate, spent seven years as a political prisoner of the Somoza regime. He was released in an exchange of hostages after the successful Sandinista raid in 1974 on a reception for the American Ambassador in Managua. Camilo was killed last February during the insurrections in Monimbo, a poor barrio in Masaya. Humberto's own activities with the Sandinistas began in the 1960s, when he was a student. His right arm was partially paralyzed by a bullet wound received in a confrontation with the National Guard. Since 1970 he has been a member of the directorate that makes policy for the Sandinista Third Force faction (Terceristas). His book, *Fifty Years of Sandinista Struggle*, is a basic manual of the movement.

The situation in which the Sandinistas find themselves today has some striking parallels with the original situation described by Carleton Beals fifty years ago. These parallels are not lost on leaders like Humberto Ortega Saavedra, whose sense of history and family background make him keenly aware of the United States in the imposition of previous negotiated settlements, in the creation and training of the Nicaraguan National Guard, and in helping the Somoza family consolidate its power in the 1930s and maintain it until now.

The most obvious parallel is the continued U.S. refusal to treat the Sandinistas as a legitimate political force. In 1927, after Sandino began his guerrilla activities, U.S. Secretary of State Frank Kellogg said:

> Sandino's activities cannot be considered to have any political significance, whatsoever, [and his forces are] in effect nothing more than common outlaws.

What followed was a five-year struggle in which many Nicaraguans and U.S. Marines lost their lives. On September 28, 1978, despite the fact that the Sandinistas had just carried out the largest military actions against the government of Nicaragua in fifty years, the United States refused to acknowledge that they might have any legitimate role in the negotiations which were to take place in October. Ken Brown, speaking for the State Department, said:

> When we refer to the Sandinistas we are speaking of a policy of armed and violent overthrow of the Nicaraguan Government and we are not in favor of this. . . . We are looking for a peaceful and democratic solution in Nicaragua. . . . The policy of the U.S. is not to have direct contact with the Sandinistas. . . .

He added, however, that the United States would deal with the FAO, some of whose groups supported the Sandinistas.

Humberto does not deny that the FSLN has been forced into armed struggle:

> Yes, we are committed to armed struggle because Somoza is not disarmed. More precisely, Somoza is armed because the government of the United States has helped him . . . in spite of the wishes of many of the American people. For this reason, in Nicaragua, it is necessary to be armed in order to meet face to face with an oppressor who is so well armed. There is no other way.

But unlike the U.S. negotiators who deny legitimacy to the Sandinistas, Humberto believes that the FSLN has support from the Nicaraguan population:

> The energy behind the movement comes from the Nicaraguan people. The FSLN is nothing more than the organization which has attempted to express this energy. . . . Even the business community was revitalized by our seizure of the National Congress.

Commenting on the recent offensive he said:

> Just because the National Guard retook the cities it cannot be considered a defeat. What the National Guard recaptured was nothing more than rubble. The National Guard did not recapture the hearts of the people. They didn't recover their friendship, affection, or loyalty either.

Although Humberto overstates his case every bit as much as Augusto Sandino did, it cannot be denied that the group received substantial support from the population during the battles for five key Nicaraguan cities in September. Their ranks have been swollen by their successes as well as by the National Guard's policy of destroying neighborhoods, particularly poor ones. The exact extent of the Sandinistas' base of support is at present unknown, nor is it known just what kinds of program they would undertake if they gained control of the government. (Humberto did not discuss with me Sandinista programs in detail, but he did mention that priority would be given to the areas of land reform, health care and education. The land reform would include the expropriation of Somoza's holdings which are conservatively estimated at 20% of the land area in

By Cable from Managua, Nicaragua, February 20: Grippe had me nailed to a cross; my bones were cracking with fever, but at eight o'clock at night we set out in a driving storm. We wove in and out of the back alleys of the town, took to the meadow, and sought at full gallop the southeast trail. Dogs barked, doors flashed open, but we vanished, leaving many to wonder what travelers were doing on the road at such an hour in such a storm. The rain poured down its floods upon us endlessly.

• • •

"Where is Sandino?"

"In his mountain fortress, El Chipote, with American airplanes bombing overhead, American cannon mounted on the opposing heights, American troops gnawing little by little into the mountain fastness, slowly encircling El Chipote, cutting off Sandino's supplies and outposts, with a general attack expected at any moment."

Carleton Beals, The Nation *February 29, 1928*

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cultivation.) But what is evident is that the Sandinistas cannot be ignored by anyone thinking about the political future of Nicaragua.

Another parallel can be found in the comparison between what originally forced Sandino into jungles and what led to the withdrawal of the Doce from the FAO. In 1927, Augusto Sandino, an ardent nationalist, moved to a policy of armed struggle when he became convinced that the agreement between U.S. Envoy Henry Stimson and Liberal Gen. Jose Maria Moncada was in fact a U.S.-imposed solution to the Nicaraguan political crisis at that time. Today the Doce and the Sandinistas believe that the United States intervened to propose a pact that would insure the "continuation of the Somoza regime." According to Humberto:

> We marginalized ourselves because we felt the people were not represented in the negotiations. We always believed in a broad anti-Somoza front [larger than the FAO] which included representation of the popular sectors through the Pueblo Unido (student federations, block associations and the militant women's alliance), the Doce and the FAO. Unfortunately, the bourgeois sectors would not permit this. The FAO, or at least the groups which have remained, are participating in a mediation which is dead. The Doce, which identified with our cause, entered the FAO in order to insure . . . that the popular sectors were represented. When the Doce felt that the mediation had become a pact with Somoza, it was absurd that they or any other honest force continue in the FAO. The mediation became nothing more than a compromise which the United States wanted to force on us . . . it was almost a pact with Somoza. . . . [Although the Doce have left the FAO they will] maintain their honest and patriotic positions. . . .

It is impossible to determine what role the international mediators played in structuring the revised FAO proposal rejected by the Somoza government on October 30, but the proposal was substantially different from the original 3-point FAO plan.

Although the Doce and the Sandinistas have not made their allegations more specific, it is widely reported that the mediators reviewed the original 3-point plan of the FAO and suggested an interim government which included a National Guard official and a member of Somoza's Liberal Party.

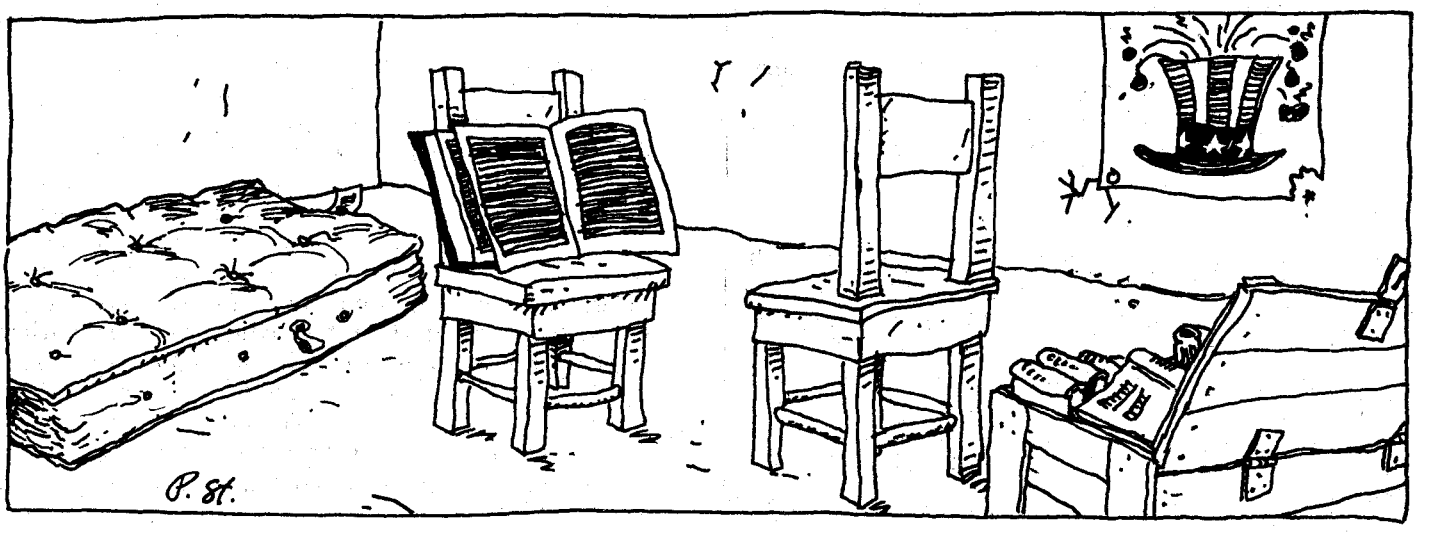
Another parallel is that the Sandinistas are still as poorly armed in comparison to the National Guard as they were in the 1930s and that they still have factions. Humberto says:

> The Democratic and Republican Parties in the United States have factions as well. Thus, it shouldn't surprise anyone that we have factions too.

Humberto, his brother Daniel and Victor Tirado Lopez are all members of the policy-making directorate of the Third Force reported to be the largest of the three Sandinista factions. Eden Pastora, who led the successful assault on the National Palace, is also a member of this faction. Within the ranks of the Terceristas one finds nationalists, militant Christians and Marxists. Although the Tercerista concept of a broad front alliance has been tarnished by the recent problems within the FAO, the Sandinistas still believe in alliances with those organizations that refuse to compromise with the original program.

The oldest and second largest faction is the Prolonged Popular War Group (GPP), which reportedly favors slower and more careful organization, particularly in rural areas. The GPP has presumably had its hand strengthened by the recent rupture of the FAO. Finally, the smallest faction, the Proletarian Group, is said to be supported by the Communist Party. According to Humberto, similar although not analogous factions existed in 1929. Dr. Pedro Jose Zepeda, one of Sandino's advisers, favored a broad front alliance of anti-imperialist groups of all classes; another faction, ARPA, supported a highly nationalistic policy; the Communist International tried to discredit the broad front strategy. Sandino tried to steer a course among the factions that would keep the movement united. Humberto reports that the Sandinistas attempt a similar course today.

However, this latter observation calls attention to an important difference between the 1929 movement and the present one. The Sandinistas of today have no single leader. Humberto tried to minimize this difficulty be explaining that, "Because of extreme repression, the movement has until recently had to operate clandestinely." It is easy to confirm that statement. Of the leaders who



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"Our army," Sandino told me, "is tried and true. It is composed of workers and peasants who love their country. The intellectuals have betrayed us, and so we have had to take up arms. What we have done has been through our own unaided efforts."

"How about the story," I put in, "that two captured American Marines taught you how to make bombs?"

"A lie of the Marine officers to hide their discomfiture at our successes. It is comforting to the American ego to think that we were taught what we know by the Marines . . . . Call in our bombmaker," he ordered an aide.

An elderly, sparse, smiling man appeared, who explained to me that the bombs were made by wrapping dynamite tightly in rawhide along with nails, pieces of steel, glass, etc. A heavy bomb, wrapped in the skin of some animal, was placed in my hand. It was tied with rawhide thongs and looked more like a child's Teddy-bear than a bomb. But I was told that it could wipe out the better part of a company if advantageously thrown.

Carleton Beals, The Nation *March 28, 1928*

revived the movement in the 1960s, all but one have been killed. The survivor, Thomas Borge, was imprisoned by Somoza and released in an exchange of hostages last month. It is thought that he was more savagely tortured than any other Central American political prisoner.

A final parallel between the situation of the 1930s and that of today is that the U.S. Government still supports the Somoza family. When asked about the Carter human rights policy and its success in Nicaragua, Humberto said:

> In spite of President Carter's personal good intentions the human rights policy, which he personally wants and which has inspired so many sectors in Nicaragua, including our own, has not been realized due to the most reactionary sectors within his own government. . . .We know that, yes, he would like to see this policy implemented. But, the ultimate responsibility is his. We do not believe that he has been consistent because the aid from his government continues, in one form or another, regardless of whether or not it has been reduced.

Humberto might have acknowledged that, though economic aid continues, military assistance was recently cut off, but the sense of his message is clear and other Nicaraguans are less amiable. They view Carter's handling of relations with Nicaragua as inept at best and insidious at worst. These are the events they cite: In June 1977 the Carter administration helped those Americans who favored continued military aid for Somoza to restore cuts legislated by the House Appropriations Committee. The President lunched with Representatives like Congressman Stokes, hoping to persuade them to vote against aid cuts to specific countries. Carter argued that such cuts would limit his foreign policy flexibility. A week before the House vote on the subject, Terence Todman, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, sent letters to key Congressmen, asking them to restore military aid to Nicaragua. In September 1977 the Carter administration's Christopher Committee, set up to dispense aid to Nicaragua contingent upon human rights improvements, signed a new military assistance agreement but, on human rights grounds, withheld aid for an education and nutrition loan. The decision, made for procedural reasons, was not understood by most Nicaraguans. Last summer, President Carter wrote President Somoza to commend him for improving the status of human rights in his country. In September Ken Brown of the State Department announced, as mentioned above, that the U.S. negotiators would not deal directly with the Sandinistas because they were committed to armed overthrow of the Somoza government. In October, the international mediators made their suggestion that the interim government should include a National Guard official and a member of Somoza's Liberal Party.

While factionalism within Nicaragua has contributed to the breakdown in the negotiations and the threat of more violence, the cumulative effects of U.S policy have played a key role in this breakdown. The policy of denying legitimacy to the Sandinistas has served only to stiffen the position of the most ideologically moderate faction of the FSLN, the Terceristas. They now give only qualified support to those groups within the FAO which will not compromise the original 3-point plan. They have renewed their belief that the only way to bring an end to the Somoza regime is by armed struggle. The predictable violence will undoubtedly last for some time and spill over into Honduras and Costa Rica as the guerrillas move covertly back and forth across national borders. Such actions

"What," I asked Sandino, "do you consider the motives of the American Government?"

"The American Government," he said with a lurking smile, "desires to protect American lives and property. But I can say that I have never touched a pin belonging to an American. I have had respect for the property of everybody. And no American who has come to Nicaragua without arms in his hands has been injured by us."

"Then protecting American lives and property, you imply, must be a pretext?"

"The truth of the matter is that the American Government has made so many arrangements of not too savory a character with the regime now in power that it is afraid of any other government. But if I had been in the shoes of the American Government and had forced the present Nicaraguan regime to give away the rights of my brother Nicaraguans, and then had seen justice coming down the straightway, I would have known that the moment to accede gracefully had come. I would have retraced my steps rather than drown a nation in blood."

Carleton Beals, The Nation *March 28, 1928*

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may lead to reprisal raids of the kind that have caused such bitterness in the Middle East and Africa. A final possibility is that the remaining participants in the FAO and the Somoza regime may, at some point, reach an accord which they will present as a legitimate, internationally mediated solution. If that happens, it will be important to remember that the FAO is no longer an organization representing all segments of the Nicaraguan population.

The Nicaraguan tragedy contains a lesson that the United States has still failed to learn. Our government continues to discredit those who take up arms against highly unrepresentative and repressive regimes. Sandino told Carleton Beals fifty years ago:

> We are no more bandits than was Washington. If the American public had not become calloused to justice and to the elemental rights of mankind, it would not so easily forget is own past when a handful of ragged soldiers marched through the snow leaving blood tracks behind them to win liberty and independence. If their consciences had not become dulled by the scramble for wealth, Americans would not so easily forget the lesson that sooner or later, every nation, however weak, achieves freedom and that every abuse of power hastens the destruction of the one who wields it.

The Carter administration would do well to heed that message from the past. □

Pahlavi Foundation

(Continued from Front Cover)

quite unashamedly to bankroll operations which the monarchy would have supported out of its own pocket in the past. For instance, the budget provides annual cash backing for such things as Tehran's privately owned exclusive Imperial Country Club, the Imperial Horse Society and the Imperial Aviation Club.

The expansion of the economy has also provided the Shah with a greatly diversified set of rewards. He has utilized the granting of trade and manufacturing monopolies and restricted licenses or agencies for international companies as a means of making people beholden to him. In the most profitable arrangements the Shah accepts certain trusted individuals as intermediaries in large-contract negotiations with international companies in the defense and civilian fields. In return for permitting the intermediary a 1% commission, the Shah is kept fully informed on negotiations. In 1971 a £1 million commission was paid to Sir Shapoor Reporter for his part in arranging the sale of British Chieftain tanks to Iran. This money was paid by the British Government with the Shah's knowledge on what was essentially a government-to-government sale. Granting licenses or asking select individuals to establish monopoly industries also allows the Shah an important form of personal control. For instance, one man, Abdol Hassan Mahvi, has assisted in the creation of military electronics industries, the aircraft servicing and repair industry and a naval servicing company. Thus while Reza Shah was concerned (some would say obsessed) with building up a huge fortune for the Pahlavi dynasty as a means of control and reward, it has been sufficient for his son, Mohammed Reza Shah, to exercise ultimate control over the state economic apparatus. Nevertheless, he has been careful to maintain a certain blurring of the distinction between state funds and royal funds to insure that, when necessary, the former are at the disposal of the regime.

The ambiguity between state funds and the royal purse is most evident in the National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC). The chairman is appointed by the Shah and answerable only to him. NOIC's budget is presented to the Plan and Budget Organization, but never discussed in detail. Its full accounts are seen by only a few of its directors and never by any member of the public.

No conclusive evidence exists, but a number of well-placed persons, both Iranian and foreign, familiar with NIOC are convinced that the national oil company acts as a source of supplementary and secret funds for the regime—not for the personal enrichment of the Shah but to sustain him in power. In this respect an interesting document was published by Le Canard Enchaien in 1976. It purported to show a one-month (in 1962) excerpt from a Swiss bank account of the Pahlavi Foundation. The main income on the balance sheet for the month was a $12 million transfer from NIOC. This document, whose veracity has never been challenged, is the closest published proof of what many believe to be both a use for secret NIOC funds and a link between NIOC and the Pahlavi Foundation.

Officially, the Pahlavi Foundation is a charity organization sponsored and financed from Mohammed Reza Shah's wealth. It is listed as such in all Iranian publications. In practice it is nothing so straightforward. Behind a smoke screen of charity, the foundation is used in three key ways to assist the regime: as a safe and institutionalized conduit for "pensions," as a means of exerting economic control or influence by investing in specific sectors of the economy, and as a source of funds for royal ventures. In a hard-hitting assessment, Marvin Zonis, author of *The Political Elite of Iran* (Princeton University Press, 1971) had this to say:

> It is unquestionably true that the Foundation plays a crucial role in all areas of Iranian public life. After the government itself, it is the most powerful economic force in the country. It seems certain, however, that a great deal of its resources are spent maintaining and enhancing that economic power. Resources devoted purely to charity rather than commercial undertakings appear relatively slight.

According to the Shah, he established the foundation in 1958 as a nonprofit-making organization to coordinate a group of social services in which he was

Robert Graham, now the Madrid correspondent of the Financial Times *(London), was from 1975 to 1977 that paper's Middle East correspondent, based in Tehran. This article is adapted from a chapter of his* Iran: The Illusion of Power, *scheduled for American publication in January by St. Martin's Press.*

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interested. The foundation replaced what had been known as the Pahlavi Estates Office, created in 1951 to handle the proceeds of the sale of Crown land to tenant farmers. These estates comprised 830 or more villages with a land area of more than 2.5 million hectares, all of which was acquired in less than twenty years by Reza Shah. Although the Shah established the fund in 1958, he did not transfer to it the more substantial Pahlavi assets until 1961, when the topic of royal wealth became politically sensitive. At the time, these assets were valued at approximately $135 million. This, the Shah claimed, represented 90% of his personal fortune: put another way, the Shah was still worth about $15 million.

Such a claim was almost certainly an overstatement. Nevertheless he has vested more of his personal assets in the foundation than his opponents will generally admit.

The divestiture of his wealth to a supposed charitable organization has relieved some pressure on the Shah from those who regard Pahlavi assets as ill-gotten, or in reality belonging to the state. At the same time, by transferring his wealth to the foundation, he can still use it as did previous monarchs—to keep himself in power. He has merely institutionalized the extensive wealth of the Pahlavis—a collective wealth exceeded in the Middle East only by the House of Saud in Saudi Arabia and the al-Sabah ruling family in Kuwait. The Shah from the outset appointed himself chief Custodian of the Foundation. As such he is entitled to 2.5% of net revenues, but this he has waived. He also appoints the ten Custodians, five of whom are state officeholders—the Prime Minister, the Court Minister, the head of the Senate, the Speaker of the Majles and the Supreme Court Justice (all posts appointed by the Shah)—and five are direct nominees. The latter are all entitled to 2.5% of total net income "equally shared."

The foundation front is impressive. It is involved in a number of charitable causes and good-works ventures. From its inception up to March 1977 it financed, with direct cash grant or loan assistance, the education abroad of 12,000 students. The foundation provides assistance to the deaf, dumb and blind; clothing for certain especially needy; food for the faithful during the fast of Ramadan in certain cities. It supports orphans and provides pensions and other benefits to the families of those who have lost their lives for the country—this includes members of the police and security forces killed by urban guerrillas.

The foundation also runs a book translation and publishing company that reprints Persian and foreign classics. It is involved with the Farah Pahlavi Foundation, which operates eighty-seven boardinghouses, nurseries and youth centers; the Queen Pahlavi Foundation (a charity founded in the name of Mohammed Reza Shah's mother); the Ashraf Pahlavi Foundation and the Shahnaz Youth Clubs. Largest of all these is the Imperial Organization for Social Service (IOSS), which operates more than 250 clinics and ten hospitals.

These charitable activities are carried out in the name of the Royal Family and are used as a means of royal patronage. Nevertheless the Pahlavi Foundation and the royal purses are not always the prime contributors. The state budget, unbeknownst to most Iranians, provides substantial assistance. Almost half the IOSS budget is met from the Treasury ($80 million); the book translation and publishing company receives $700,000; the Queen Pahlavi Foundation is given $10 million; the Farah Pahlavi Foundation $22 million, and the recently established Ashraf Pahlavi Foundation $105,000. The combined annual subsidy from the state budget for these philanthropic and charitable activities—for which the Pahlavi family draws kudos—is more than $100 million.

These philanthropic activities cannot claim to be entirely altruistic. The foundation has grown dramatically, directly via the book translation and publishing company, and indirectly via the 25th Shahrivar Publishing Company, which is owned by the IOSS. Shahrivar supervises the printing of all school textbooks in Iran: some 50 million copies of 428 titles each year. These textbooks are easily controlled to present material favorable to the regime. The orphanages run by the foundation, or its adjunct the Farah Pahlavi Foundation, are recruiting grounds for the police and gendarmerie.

To appreciate the full extent of the Pahlavi Foundation's presence in Iran, it is essential to have an idea of its assets. Just after its creation, the Shah described the foundation's assets as shares or interests in a "number of hotels (mostly constructed by my father); cement factories, sugar factories, our Iranian National Insurance Company, a bank, merchant ships and various other industrial and commercial undertakings." This statement in itself demonstrated how deeply involved the Pahlavi family had been in the country's economic affairs.

The full list of original assets has never been fully published, and since 1961 there has been no mention of new acquisitions or any changes in the nature of the investments. The foundation did not even choose to disclose that it had offloaded to NIOC one of its bigger activities—the ownership and operation of the National Iranian Tanker Company. The foundation refuses to give any information concerning the value of its assets, annual income, or the composition of investments. One can therefore make only a conservative guess of between $2.8 billion and $3.2 billion. In the end, however, the value of the assets makes little difference so long as the Shah's control over the country's economic apparatus is not challenged.

The most important asset held by the foundation is its 100% ownership of the Bank Omran, the fifth largest commercial bank in Iran. It was founded in 1952 to finance the development of agriculture on Crown lands and assist the peasants in the purchase of these lands. Those cynically inclined saw the bank as a collector of debts owed to the Crown from the sale of land, and there is more than a grain of truth in this. In any event, what was conceived as a development bank quickly grew into the bank of the Royal Family.

Bank Omran also acts as financier for a number of fringe projects for Iran's elite. It is financial comptroller of, and has a 20% interest in, the resort of Kish Island, off the Iranian coast of the Gulf. This is being developed at huge cost, conservatively estimated at more than $100 million, as a winter playground for the very rich. The Shah already has a villa there with houses for friends. The development envisages the construction of 1,200 villas, three luxury hotels and a casino, a golf course and duty-free shopping facilities (for the first time in Iran). Its prospects are dubious.

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The heat in the Gulf is such that the resort will be patronized for less than six months a year, and it must import everything, including 3,000 foreign personnel to operate it. However, financial viability appears less important than keeping Iran's privileged class content. Interestingly, 80% of the project is owned by SAVAK, the secret police, and SAVAK has a representative on the board. This involvement dates back to when General Bakhtiar ran SAVAK and acquired the island with SAVAK funds for $2 million. When he was dismissed from his post the island became SAVAK property.

The foundation's banking interests are not restricted to owning the Bank Omran. It has a direct holding in at least three other commercial banks, including 30% of the Bank Iranshahr, whose assets are worth $535 million. It has much smaller holdings in the Irano-British Bank and Bank Etebarat. It also has a 1.6% share of the development bank, DIBI, worth $700,000.

The foundation's involvement with insurance is equally large. The Bimeh Melli, 80% officially owned, but perhaps more, by the foundation, is the third biggest insurance company in Iran. It is primarily concerned with insuring the foundation's interests and has premiums of around $5 million a year. An almost equal amount of premiums comes from Bimeh Melli's lucrative insurance contract with Iran Air, for which it is the sole local insurer. This is a second key link with Iran Air, as its chief is also on the council of the Bank Omran.

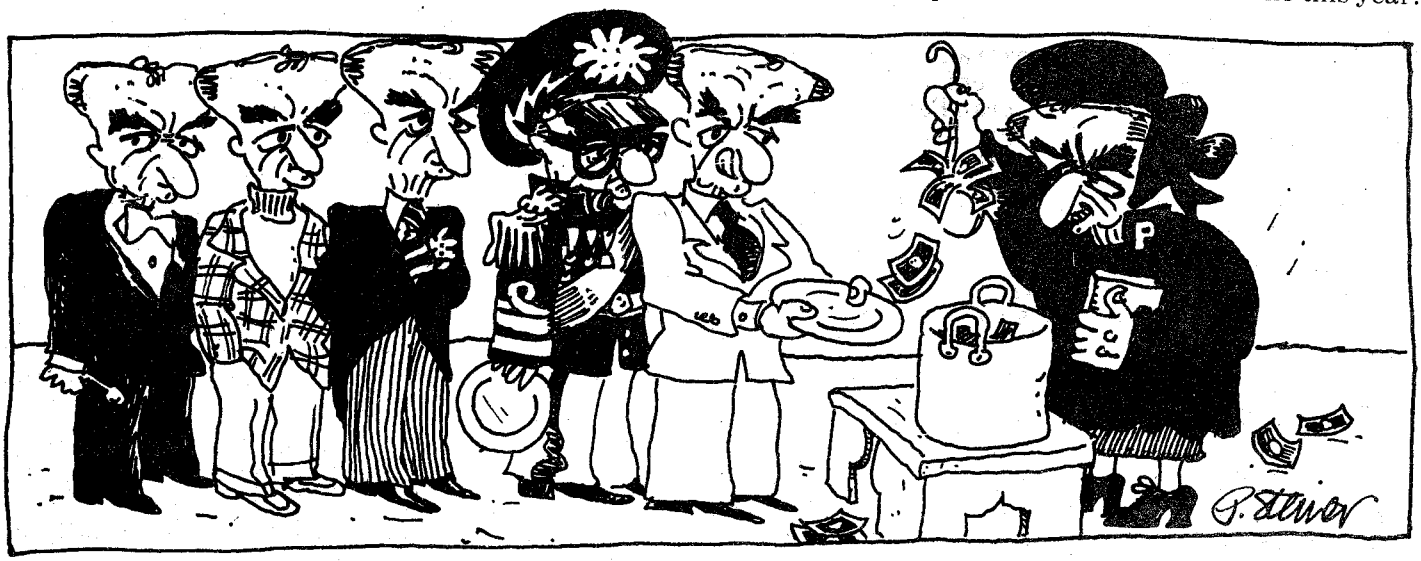
The foundation has important shares in two of the country's ten cement plants, including 25% of the Tehran Cement Company, Iran's largest, accounting for 18% of national production. It has a 30% share in Iranit, a company that imports cement and building materials and recently established a company, Sangarveh Mining, to provide quarry products for the building trade. Ironically, cement and building materials have been the items in shortest supply since the 1973 oil price rises, and for which the biggest black-market prices have been paid.

The foundation has been wary of large-scale involvement in heavy industry. The Shah has preferred to use state-owned companies for the strategic sectors, and the main appointees in these companies report direct to him. The foundation's principal industrial holdings are in the motor industry. Through a 10% stake in G.M. Iran, which has the license for six and eight cylinder cars, it controls 8% of the car market. If G.M.'s plans for a truck plant materialize it could control 50% of Iranian truck assembly. There are unconfirmed reports of a foundation holding in Irannational, the largest automotive concern. Other important industrial holdings include shares in tire making, road construction machinery, leather, office machinery and pharmaceuticals.

The foundation is strongly involved in agribusiness. This dates back to the mid-1930s, when Reza Shah established a local sugar industry to reduce dependence upon what was then one of the country's main imports. The Pahlavi Foundation now has a share in at least six sugar mills and sugar-beet factories, responsible for about 15% of total capacity.

Also dating back to Reza Shah's time is the foundation's ownership of the country's largest chain of hotels. They are primarily in the luxury or first-class category and in this sector the foundation owns more than 70% of Iran's total bed capacity. In Tehran it owns four leading hotels—the Hilton, the Vanak, the Evin and the Darband. Outside the capital, its main hotels are concentrated around the Caspian, where it also owns the Caspian's two casinos. Directly or indirectly through Bank Omran, it has a monopoly on casinos.

Until recently the foundation eschewed foreign investment, and sought a low profile when money was placed abroad. However, in 1973 it made a public entry into the international property market by buying the DePinna building on Fifth Avenue in New York. To do this, the foundation was obliged to register as an American charitable institution with the declared aim of using the rental to pay for Iranian students studying in America. The advantage of charitable status is that tax is avoided and the U.S. authorities cannot investigate the books of the parent foundation in Tehran. In 1975 the building had a book value of $14.5 million. A new thirty-six story building is due for completion on the site some time this year.



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The main clients will be Iranian state agencies—the Iranian Consulate, an information office, the NIOC and Iranian banks. Their rents are expected to provide an annual income of $5 million. This arrangement illustrates the neat interlocking of the foundation with the rest of the state apparatus.

In addition to financing Iranian students, the large rental income is expected to relieve the foundation in Tehran of financing grants to American universities for studies on Iran. For instance, Princeton University receives some $500,000 a year and Columbia University $18,000. This financing of Iranian studies or outright Iranian gifts to American academic bodies has been criticized in the United States as an attempt to obtain tame academics and buy respectability in the academic world.

The Pahlavi Foundation is now actively searching the international property market for investment opportunities; it even employs a senior member of Parliament, Senator Foroughi, to act as an international adviser in this venture. Bank Omran has also begun to turn to international property development. Through a long association with a small U.S. bank, First National Wisconsin of Milwaukee, Bank Omran has become involved in a huge three-phase neighborhood development—the Canal Street project—in New Orleans.

It is not always a question of the foundation's being called upon to invest. It has been and still is a practice in Iran for those establishing industrial and commercial ventures to offer small stakes to members of the Royal Family. Usually this has involved no more than 1% but it can be more. The practice grew out of the generally well-founded belief that royal patronage was the most effective guarantee of profitability. This was the basis for part of Reza Shah's fortune. Latterly when such interests have been offered to the Royal Family they have usually been referred to the foundation. In the same way the commissions on contracts, especially defense contracts, paid to intermediaries, have been channeled to the foundation on the Shah's instructions—though presumably with some cut for the intermediary.

Within the business community it is generally assumed that foundation-associated companies and ventures enjoy a privileged status. For instance, B.F. Goodrich was prompted to sell its share in its Iranian subsidiary, partially because of a two-year price freeze. No sooner had the sale gone through to Iranian shareholders, which included the foundation, than the price freeze on Goodrich products was lifted.

The economic power that comes from controlling the Pahlavi Foundation is obvious enough. Less obvious are the more clandestine uses of Pahlavi Foundation income. Here proof relies more on hearsay than fact. Marvin Zonis, commenting on the foundation's role in paying "pensions," says: "Outright pensions are still granted to elites and counter-elites, the monarch's Pahlavi Foundation frequently serving as a conduit." Written seven years ago, this still seems to hold true.

With a gap growing between the salaries of civil servants and those of the private sector as a result of the 1973 oil price rises, the foundation has become an important source of fringe benefits to induce the former to stay in their jobs. In particular, the foundation is believed to be the conduit for end-of-year bonuses, paid nominally out of the Shah's private purse. Foundation funds are also used to provide what are in effect straight cash grants in return for special favors, or on occasion low-interest loans—although the latter are usually channeled through the Bank Omran. The extent to which this type of activity is carried over into the military sector has never been pinned down. There is a suspicion, based upon the Shah's overriding concern for the well-being of the military, that it gets more of the foundation handouts than do the civilians.

The foundation is also used to provide extra income for various members of the Royal Family, either as regular payments or as special funds for specific undertakings. A revealing passage in an unpublished book written by a member of the foundation secretariat observes:

> The last and by no means least service of the Social Affairs Department [of the foundation] is to seek out the near and distant relatives of the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty and see to their basic needs and requirements; for welfare begins at home and no foundation could be expected to ignore the essential requirements of its own flesh and blood relatives.

The Swiss bank account of the foundation cited earlier showed payments to ten Pahlavis and two other persons associated with the family by marriage. The extent of this aid is believed considerable. Even minor and distant members of the Royal Family are now reckoned to need $1 million a year to cover basic needs, to say nothing of capital expenses like new houses.

The expansion of the economy since the early 1970s has, however, meant that proportionately foundation support of the Royal Family has lessened. Royal Family business interests prospered with the boom, and money has become easier to borrow.

By all accounts there is a good measure of inefficiency in the handling of foundation affairs. Discretion and loyalty are prized more than brilliance. This inefficiency has little overall effect on income, however. At one end the foundation's financial needs—or rather the regime's needs from the foundation—are underpinned by the budget. At the other it has the ability to draw on secret funds from NIOC. The scale of the foundation's activities suggests that its income alone would be unable to provide the necessary liquidity, and the most natural covert source would be NIOC. Moreover, use of NIOC in this respect is in line with the Shah's favored strategy of always having an alternative channel. It means he does not have to rely too much on the budget of the state.

The proportion of income devoted to charitable and philanthropic activity has not increased over the years; and most believe that it has contracted, especially as the state has made a more conscious effort to adopt welfare policies. Even so, if the foundation was obliged to pay in full for all charitable activities supported in its name, or in the names of the related royal foundations, spare income would be very limited. It would probably be unable to support any activity except charity. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Mina Shaughnessy: Meeting Challenges

BENJAMIN DeMOTT

The following is a version of Benjamin DeMott's paper "As Yet We Lack . . . Notes on Open Admissions As 'A New York Tragedy.'" It was delivered at a Rockefeller Foundation Conference on Open Admissions. We have excerpted the paper to focus on his comments about Mina Shaughnessy's Errors and Expectations: A Guide for the Teacher of Basic Writing *(Oxford University Press), a book which meets the challenge of higher education for poorly prepared students throughout the country. In our view Professor Shaughnessy's work may be the most significant advance in years toward what DeMott rightly calls "the grand project of this society, that of democratic realization."*

Not for some years has comment on open access to higher education been other than disheartening. When chic literary minds allude to the subject the tone taken is invariably cynical—flippantly cynical. The implication is that teachers made no commitment to the open admissions experiment, but simply used it as further justification of personal laziness and self-absorption. (See for example the passages about CUNY in Renata Adler's novel *Speedboat.*) Among educational journalists, on the other hand, it is understood that the right line on these matters isn't cynically dismissive but piously mournful. The series of articles on the history of open admissions at City University published in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* appeared under the title "The New York Tragedy," and the pieces were unremittingly insistent that a whole academic world had been utterly destroyed. Radicals adopt more serious postures but aren't less critical, fundamentally; they challenge open access higher education on the ground that it's primarily vocational in focus, and has never risked an effort to make liberal arts education relevant to the life needs of the new student constituencies. And the etiologists, for their part, are frozen in the conviction that "explanation" in this area can't have another focus except breakdown and calamity.

In a word, the experiment that began in high optimism longer than a decade ago is now dealt with by most commentators, as a downer.

By most, but not all. The exception—and in my opinion the product of the CUNY open admissions experiment that blazes our best path toward the future—is Mina Shaughnessy's *Errors and Expectations.* This work is directly connected to the enterprise that's labeled, for convenience, "remediation"—development of the abilities of the underskilled who've been ripped off by the failures of elementary and secondary education. And that enterprise, as everyone knows, lies at the heart of open admissions policy, not only as the policy was originally framed but as it is in force today.

Without pretension as a work of social theory (although in some respects it qualifies as such a work), Professor Shaughnessy's book presents itself, through the subtitle, as a mere "guide for the teacher of basic writing." Its pages attempt to describe with some precision the nature and sources of the difficulties with written English exhibited by thousands of open admissions placement exams and student papers produced over a period of several years. Quoting frequently from these documents, Ms. Shaughnessy discusses typical errors, beginning with problems of handwriting and punctuation, moving on to syntax and spelling, and vocabulary difficulties. In the penultimate chapter she proposes a composition curriculum, a reasoned sequence for remediation effort, together with a series of schemes for evaluating the effectiveness of the program.

The author of *Errors and Expectations* is less interested in generalization than in case studies—exercises, drills, teaching devices. But a number of generalizations are offered, and they are unfailingly wise and well-judged. What is extraordinary in her work, though—and admirably suggestive for the future—is the commitment to the imaginative re-creation of the mind of the new academic learner. This is absolutely pivotal. Ms. Shaughnessy is absorbed in the moment-to-moment problems of the basic writing student, as in, say, her discussion of sentences derailed at the intersection of subordinate and independent elements. Sentences like these:

> According to the list of jobs, you are basing whether or not to go to college, is a limited list.
>
> For those people who do not want an education, but only a job, should go on to a training course.

But time and again her absorption drives her toward patient, penetrating probes of the psychology of those who produce such sentences. The problem, Ms. Shaughnessy writes, is that subordination requires:

> . . . that the author add parts to his base sentence . . . These additions . . . require several things. If the dependent unit comes first in the sentence, the writer must suspend the independent unit in his mind, while he qualifies it (as with introductory adverbial phrases and clauses). If the dependent unit comes between the subject and predicate of the base sentence . . . the writer must hold the main subject in his mind while he writes out the subject and the predicate of the qualifying clause, and then he must return to the predicate of the base sentence. These operations require a memory for written words and grammatical structures that the inexperienced writer may not have. He hears what he says easily enough, but he does not as easily recall what he has written once his hand has moved on to another part of the sentence, and unlike the experienced writer, he is not in the habit of reviewing what he has written but instead moves headlong, as a speaker might, toward the open line, often forgetting the constraints he has set for himself a few words back. This difficulty with "hearing" what has been written leads to bewildering and grammatically unworkable sentences that belie the writer's skill with the language.

Intense concentration on what it is like to be the new academic learner, to voyage forth in mind without a map, is everywhere visible in *Errors and Expectations.* Here is Ms. Shaughnessy inquiring into the relation, in the mind of the new learner, between purpose, sense of self, and sense of audience:

> . . . inexperienced writers . . . have trouble locating their purposes. Often in fact they think of purpose as what someone else wants of them. . . . The autonomy of the writer lies in his knowing what he thinks (or perhaps even before that, knowing *that* he thinks), not in his choosing to think on one or two subjects. Without his conviction that he has "something to mean," the writer cannot carry on the kind of conversation with himself that leads to writing.

At one moment, in a consideration of a passage of student writing severely criticized by another teacher ("Jargon! Make it simple!" is the comment in the margin of the paper), Ms. Shaughnessy offers a truly exceptional commentary on mental process, a probe that takes us

Benjamin DeMott is professor of English at Amherst College.

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deep into the mind of the student writer. The paper reads as follows:

> It can be said that my parents have led useful live but that usefulness seems to deteriorate when they fond themselves constantly being manipulated for the benefit of one and not for the benefit of the community. If they were able to realize that were being manipulate successful advancements could of been gained but being that they had no strong political awareness their energies were consumed by the politicians who saw personal advancements at the expense of dedicated community workers. And now that my parents have taken a leave of absence from community involvement, comes my term to participate on worthwhile community activities which well bring about positive results and to maintain a level of consciousness in the community so that they will know what policies affect them, and if they don't quite like the results of the politicies I'll make sure, if its possible, to abolish the ones which hinder progress to ones which well present the correct shift in establishing correct legislation or enactments. In order to establish myself and my life to revolve around the community I must maintain a level of awareness to make sure that I can bring about positive actions and to keep an open mind to the problems of the community and to the possible manipulation machinery which is always on the watch when progressive leaders or members of the community try to build effective activities for the people to participate.

Professor Shaughnessy interprets it thus:

> The writer of the above passage could be viewed as someone who is using (and abusing) "fancy" words to impress his reader. But again, he could be seen as someone who is struggling to develop a language that will enable him to talk analytically, with strangers, about the oppression of his parents and his own resolve to work against that oppression. Certain words and phrases worn with use, may be fresh to him (one can imagine how the word "manipulate" must serve to illuminate and group the experiences he has in mind). Or he may be finding, in this stiff and distant idiom, a way of transposing his deepest concerns into a language that protects him from the curiosity and sentimentality of strangers, even as it allows him to think about what has happened to him in terms that have wide application. To be sure, he has not mastered the style. It is dense with jargon, weighted with generalizations that keep us from feeling what he feels or knowing what he, through anecdote and description, could help us know. But to weave personal experience into analytical discourse, to be the stuff of one's own conscious conceptualizing, is difficult at the beginning . . . The writer who has begun to advance into the complexity of the new language is almost certain to sound and feel alien with the stock of words, routines, and rituals that make up that language. Yet there is no way to gain the use of these unfamiliar forms except by trying them out, even at the risk of sounding funny or phoney. The teacher in such a situation has the delicate task of encouraging the enterprise and confidence of the student who is moving in this direction while at the same time improving his judgment about both the forms and meaning of the words he chooses.

Behind this analysis lies Ms. Shaughnessy's own experience as a teacher, and that of her immediate colleagues as well. There's a certain dependence, too, on resources produced by journals in the field, including the *Journal of Basic Writing*, and upon several valuable volumes of inquiry into writing processes that have been produced recently by such notable English scholar-teachers as Douglas Barnes and A.J. Abercrombie. Plainly, the "product" issues from a complex and extensive collaboration. But at its core it is personal, individual: a reflection of a sensibility at once acute, loving and brave.

This is mere appreciation, says a voice: the claim was that the book suggested a direction for the future. A fair complaint. I haven't spelled out the assumptions that shape Ms. Shaughnessy's work, nor have I defined the ways in which those assumptions serve as guidelines for the future. But this is by no means difficult. The central assumption in her volume is that the work continues, that much is undone, and that that which is undone can and will be accomplished in time. Professor Shaughnessy has a firm understanding of the ambiguities of progress in her field, and of the need for developmental models of progress.

But her note is not despairing. "As yet we lack developmental models for the maturation of writing skills among young native speaking adults. . . ." But the lack can be met: this is the primary assumption. Several other assumptions merit mention: that the provision of access to higher education for poorly educated urban students is a momentous event in social history, an essentially irreversible event; that a body of experience about how these students learn is being assembled; that men and women of mind and imagination remain involved and fascinated with a challenge hitherto unimaginable in educational history; that the experience of student and teacher alike in this ongoing experiment represents a kind of national capital; that lessons are being learned that have import for other settings besides that of the boroughs of this city, import for primary and secondary schools here and elsewhere, import for the training of teachers at all levels, and import for general understanding of the very subject of composition itself, conceived in its broadest and richest dimensions.

Yet the key assumption *is* that of irreversibility and continuity. "As yet we lack . . ." the lack can and will be met. Here, as I read it, is the direction for the future.

It's not a direction well or sympathetically understood by educational policy makers. The pedagogical and social issues raised in the minds of any responsive reader of *Errors and Expectations* are, indeed, hopelessly underexamined by the educational research agencies of our society. As I noted, Professor Shaughnessy remarks that we have no models of development, of progress, in her remediational field. Given the body of experience, given sensitive interpreters, such models could be produced. Numerous problems in the teaching of spelling, syntax and vocabulary for which she can produce only guesses toward solutions are susceptible to clarification through research. The larger problem that surfaces regularly in her pages—that of the obscure relation be-

LETTER FROM A STRANGER

You said, you know what I mean: one winter, you looked and
saw
a river branching in the black sycamore branches, silver
veins of roads rising and ending in icy twigs at your window;
an awful time. *Then spring came and you said*
you learned to love Lincoln again; *the first leaves came*
and you saw Lincoln's kind, grave face, drawn there
in the leaves, in the light.
How can I answer your letter? words from your life
bring me home to my life, so safe,
now, that I can leave it again, now
the milky quiet. The warm straw.

Jean Valentine

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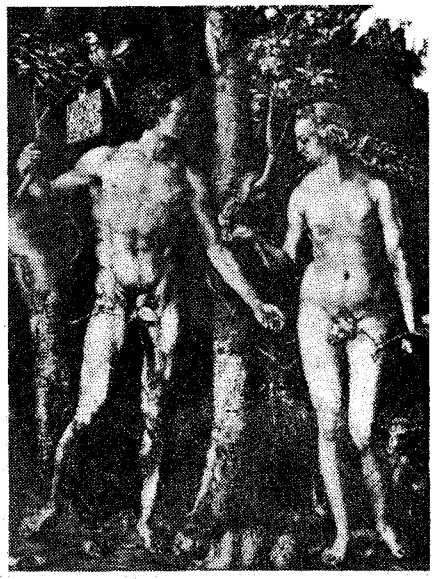

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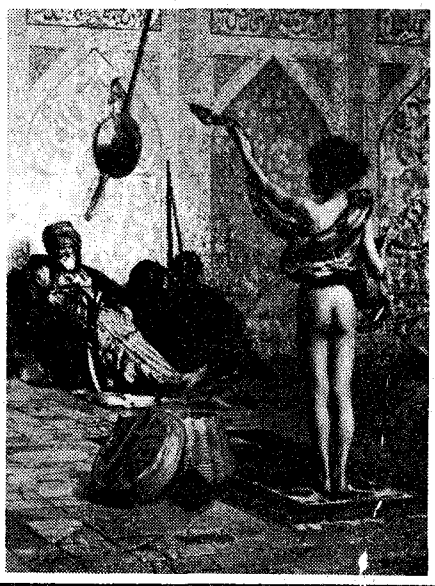

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tween successful remediation and broader cognitive achievement at the level of genuine reflectiveness—is, again, susceptible to investigation, yet no pertinent studies are in progress. The same holds for the implications of the discoveries by Professor Shaughnessy and her colleagues for the reform of primary and secondary urban school teaching, not to mention the preschool initiatives of Head Start.

Everywhere, the theme recurs: opportunities unexplored, work begun that needs finishing. It is parochial, true, to define the areas of compositional incertitude purely in terms of Professor Shaughnessy's work, despite its importance. Her colleagues in the city system have undertaken their own promising programs. So too have many investigators throughout the country—I think for example of Professor Hollingsworth at Michigan State University, whose graduate programs in the teaching of reading and writing appear to warrant examination and dissemination. All who now work in isolation in these areas could profit from the creation of an effective network. The National Institute of Education, the foundations, others have a clear obligation to encourage and support concentrated effort on these fronts. No one will deny the interdependences of schooling issues with those of housing, health, job opportunity, social equity in the large. And few will urge that the term *remediation* carries round it a nimbus of glamour. But to be distracted by the plainness of plain labels is absurd: remediation is intimately connected with the grand project of this society, that of democratic realization.

One word more. As everyone knows, the major breakthroughs of democratic consciousness seldom are instantly recognized as such. Turgenev registering the interest of the differences of mind and temperament between two peasants met on a walk was not immediately understood by every reader as changing the course of Russian political history. Nor did many in England sense the imminence of social transformation as they read Richard Hoggart's account of the sensibility of the scholarship boy in *The Uses of Literacy*. It follows that the full meaning and resonance of works like Professor Shaughnessy's modest, "technical" volume can't be expected to disclose themselves overnight. We are not accustomed to thinking of a *book* as a social and moral breakthrough.

Still we have duties, and a principal one is to reach beyond the obvious to the true—to see farther than the momentary swings of popular opinion about "declining universities," returns to "basics," and the like. Our duty is to grasp that, because of the character of the society, sometimes even because of its peculiar corruptions, we are placed periodically to advance in knowledge of our brothers and sisters, to feel our way forward into a deeper and more consequential fraternity with one another than hitherto achieved. Caught up in condescension, irony, muckraking, or despair, we often miss the step that our best democratic selves have been attempting, amidst chaos, to learn to take. But such failures of vision need correcting. Leaving them uncorrected, indeed, may well seem to the historian, in the longest run, the only "New York tragedy" worth recording. □

Crime and Punishment: A Symposium Review

DIANA GORDON

In the mid-1960s, a major new criminal justice reform—pretrial diversion—came into being. While informal efforts had previously been made by family lawyers, sympathetic social workers and concerned judges to remove (usually middle-class) defendants from criminal justice processing, formal programs were new. Those charged with first or minor offenses were released to the programs (two of the earliest were the Manhattan Court Employment Program and Project Crossroads in Washington, D.C.) which provided counseling and job development services and offered the lure of dismissed charges if the defendant stayed out of trouble and took advantage of the programs' services. Early successes led to a proliferation of programs, and a 1976 survey by the American Bar Association found 148 programs in thirty-eight states. Pretrial diversion is here to stay.

But the current programs, by and large, do not reflect the orientation of early efforts. What were once advocacy projects serving poor defendants who had no one else to help them have often become neutral forces which serve the courts with fact-finding and a probationlike control over their charges—people who have not yet been declared guilty of anything. Too frequently, what was intended as diversion from the criminal justice system has widened the possibilities of inclusion in it.

One of the many strengths of Charles Silberman's new book, *Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice*, is that he recognizes and documents how often efforts to improve criminal justice turn out to be counterproductive, or even downright regressive. He never allows his general sympathy with the intention of doing good to blind him to the limits of reform. He notes the violations of privacy that are sometimes the concomitants of providing greater physical protection for prison inmates, for example, and he deplores the damage done to offenders—particularly kids—in the name of rehabilitation.

Diana Gordon and Aryeh Neier discuss:
CRIMINAL VIOLENCE, CRIMINAL JUSTICE. *By Charles E. Silberman. Random House. 540 pp. $15.*

But I wish he had gone further. His richly textured descriptions of the phenomenon of violent street crime and the institutions which attempt to respond to it generally lead him to fairly standard liberal prescriptions which fail to take account of fundamental problems having to do with the nature of the economy and the function of criminal justice institutions within it. Thus he very movingly calls for massive economic development and an end to racial inequality without equivalent attention to the fundamental forces which have created the problems he describes. The structure of work in America, not just the lack of jobs, perpetuates poverty, and as long as that structure is not changed, blacks and others who now commit violent crimes will continue to be relatively poor. And, as he points out in his analysis of the cultural environment of most violent criminals, poverty as a relative condition—where even poor homes have color television sets, but dead-end jobs preclude full participation in society—generates much of the anger and despair which fuels crime.

I do not mean to suggest that Silberman shrinks from indictments of American values in his assessment of the causes of crime. He says, "The close association of violent crime with urban lower-class life is a direct result of the opportunities that are *not* available," and, in refuting Banfield's contention that poor people are incapable of deferring gratification, he says, "The choice is not between immediate and deferred gratification; it is between immediate gratification and no gratification at all."

Diana Gordon is vice president of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

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But his comments are criticisms of individual phenomena, not statements which flow from a coherent perspective.

If Silberman had chosen to imbue his entire inquiry with a more structural view, he could have looked at crime more comprehensively without, I think, adding to the length of an already chunky book. He might have put less emphasis on the violence of street crime and more on the diffuse (and, therefore, more socially acceptable) violence of corporate and official crime. He might have looked at white-collar and suburban crime, which are growing at frightening rates—at least partly because, in a shrinking and highly stratified economy, the disappointments and defeats urban blacks know well are becoming part of middle-class experience. He might have been less ready to call street crime a black problem, reasoning that Hispanics and other new immigrant groups will, as second-generation Americans, resent the fact that the system does not work for them and erupt with that realization. Finally, he might have given some attention to the contributions which the criminal justice system itself makes to the problem of crime. One need not adopt Marx's functional view that "The criminal [is] one of those 'equilibrating forces' which establish a just balance and open up a whole perspective of 'useful occupations' " in order to acknowledge that the criminal law and the institutions it maintains often operate to reinforce sharp class divisions which, in turn, give rise to more crime.

Perhaps I am being too critical. Silberman returns, at the close of the book, to a strong position on the importance of developing a society where "the ultimate source of order is not coercion but custom and habit," a situation which he sees can only be realized by building a sense of community into poor urban neighborhoods. He cites several "community regeneration" programs where pride and participation seem to have reduced crime. But he fails to trace and confront the power of basic economic and political institutions which frame and ultimately limit the possibilities for such community pride and participation. His hopes for an extension of those programs rest upon profound conviction that we must alter social relations in this country. Perhaps for most readers that supplies enough of an analytic framework for the book, although Silberman stops short of fully developing and exploring that framework. I assume that *Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice* will have both a wide audience and significant influence—and deservedly so. It is because of its great potential importance that its weaknesses are worth noting. □

Hard and Easy Cases

ARYEH NEIER

There is so much to admire in Charles Silberman's *Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice* that I feel churlish in singling out a deficiency. It is, however, a deficiency of some import.

Silberman describes a few programs he admires, such as a prison in southern Illinois where violence is not so pervasive as in other such institutions, a public defender's office in Santa Clara County, California, that hired its own social workers and came up with sentencing alternatives, and a very successful delinquency prevention project in Ponce, Puerto Rico, that is bringing about a redevelopment of a depressed community. While he acknowledges the difficulty in emulating these programs elsewhere, he leaves us with the impression that that is what we should try. Since Silberman is a careful observer, I have no doubt that the programs he has chosen to praise are indeed praiseworthy. But one reason we have failed so miserably in dealing with crime in the United States is that we have long been beguiled by the mistaken idea that it is possible to replicate widely local programs which have only worked because of the selection of people who will participate (as in the case of the Illinois prison which only takes prisoners who have first demonstrated at other prisons their willingness to abide by institutional rules), the special characteristics of the place (Santa Clara County), or the leadership abilities and charismatic qualities of the program's director (Puerto Rico).

What makes it so surprising that Silberman should mislead us in this way is that he has recognized with great clarity that solutions to the problem of crime which ignore underlying problems of poverty, racial inequality and the failures of government in securing the consent of the governed cannot pretend to be solutions. He is particularly insightful and eloquent in his explanation of why blacks are so disproportionately engaged in crime. After reading Silberman, I think I understand much better than before the role assigned to "bad men" by blacks, and their part in crime.

Aryeh Neier, a member of The Nation's *editorial board, is visiting professor of Law at New York University and a fellow of the New York Institute for the Humanities.*

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Perhaps Silberman's difficulty is that since he knows that the long-range problems of poverty, race, and democracy itself must be solved if the crime problem is to be solved, he distrusts intermediate-range solutions. He is extraordinarily effective in debunking "law and order" solutions to crime. Putting more police on the streets has been proven to have little or no effect. Judicially imposed restrictions on the powers of police and prosecutors to protect the rights of suspects are no impediment to enforcement of the law against those who commit crimes of violence or crimes against property. Contrary to popular myth, and the writings of James Q. Wilson and Ernest van den Haag, most criminals who are apprehended are punished. And so on.

Mistrustful of "get tough" solutions, Silberman also ignores or dismisses quickly other approaches that fall short of ultimate solutions. Although 40% of all arrests are for "victimless" or "complainantless" crimes—drug possession, drunkenness, consensual sex, etc.—Silberman has nothing more to say on the subject than that our laws on these matters are "rooted in the continuing struggle for social and political ascendancy among ethnic, religious, and racial groups." He shows no sign of recognizing that arrests and convictions for such crimes criminalize millions of Americans and that the enforcement of such laws against them goes to the heart of the problem of consent of the governed. Nor does Silberman bother more with the problem of the stigmatization of those arrested, whether they are acquitted or convicted. Difficulty in getting jobs helps those with such stigmas become members of a criminal class. And Silberman has nothing to say about public policies that disrupt the family and make it less effective than it should be in inhibiting crime.

The only intermediate-range solution that Silberman treats in some detail and endorses is ending juvenile court jurisdiction over "status offenses" (so named because only the status of being a child makes them violations of law) such as truancy, running away from home and parental defiance. Here, he is a convert. He started out his research, Silberman writes, strongly in favor of judicial intervention, but "I gradually changed my mind. Undoubtedly some youngsters benefit from judicial intervention; without coercion, their self-destructive tendencies might win out. But far more youngsters are harmed than helped." The criminalization of status offenders, Silberman now recognizes, "has encouraged criminal behavior."

Lacking other intermediate-range solutions he can endorse, and recognizing that his readers may want something more than the very well-documented cases he makes that poverty and racial inequality are at the root of our crime problem, Silberman offers a few admirable programs. If he could not bring himself to endorse any other intermediate-range solutions, it would have been better to argue only that we have to deal with race and poverty. While exclusive reliance on ultimate solutions has a never-never-land look about it, it is better than trotting out a few more model local programs which would inevitably be bureaucratized and corrupted if any attempt were made to copy them widely. □

Staying Away In Droves

JEFFREY GILLENKIRK

THE EMPTY POLLING BOOTH. *By Arthur T. Hadley. Prentice-Hall. 174 pp. $8.95.*

WHERE HAVE ALL THE VOTERS GONE? *By Everett Carl Ladd, Jr. W.W. Norton. 77 pp. $7.95.*

The premise of each of these statistical studies of the contemporary American electorate is that the 45.7% of eligible voters who failed to cast a Presidential ballot in 1976 represents an increasing erosion of the country's political system. Yet both authors are aware that only 44% of eligible voters turned out for the Coolidge-Davis-La Follette race in 1924, and 51.1% for Truman-Dewey in 1948. And all across the country for some years, city, county, and some Congressional representatives have been chosen by 30% to 50% of local eligibles.

The specter of a U.S. Presidential election attracting fewer than a majority of eligible voters to the polls haunts these authors, as if the government's legitimacy rested upon the accumulation of votes rather than their quality. There is no necessary difference between 44% and 54%, or even 84% of the voting population if the government is considered duly elected and *The Wall Street Journal* free of hysteria. It can be argued that some historical occurrences of low voter turnout were caused as much by economic surfeit and voter satisfaction as lean disgust; the results of Arthur Hadley's 1976 surveys indicate that the recent decline in voting is due to just such a mix of motivations.

Jeffrey Gillenkirk writes for In These Times *and has recently completed a novel,* Running, *about politics in San Francisco.*

Between 1952 and 1976 voting on a national level declined by 9% (neither book discussed here concerns local trends), but wouldn't it have been peculiar if after JFK's assassination, Johnson's abdication, the shootings of RFK and Wallace, Nixon's resignation and pardon, and the campaign of "Jimmy Who," voter turnout had gone anywhere but down? That it declined only 1 percentage point in 1976 from the 1972 Presidential figure is remarkable, considering Vietnam, Watergate, Koreagate and Carter's blandness.

Mr. Hadley's 1976 survey of 2,006 voters and nonvoters shows some outrage in the electorate, but also a great deal of indifference to government. He discovered a surprising 35% of nonvoters to be affluent and unconcerned with politics as long as they had money or the prospect of having it. "Positive Apathetics," Hadley calls them in his book, people who "see no connection between the political system and their personal happiness and success." Added to the 18% he found willing to vote but who were "physically disenfranchised" in 1976—sick, absent, or unable to meet residency requirements—53% of his study's nonvoters showed no cynicism or outrage at all.

More surprising than the high number of happy nonvoters was the lump of cynical and fed-up voters, 42% of whom agreed that "public officials don't care much what people like me think." So high was the feeling of impotence in some voters that Hadley branded them "Vergers," for being on the "verge" of becoming nonvoters. He found in their ranks a significant number who continued only from a sense of democratic duty.

So close were the scores of voters and nonvoters on their feelings of indifference toward the government that it appears that voting in America is changing from an exercise of choice into a hollow ritual of faith in the system. Of those who voted because they felt they should, 58% believed that "government is pretty much run by a few big interests." The affluent and upwardly mobile who have proof of the system's goodness through profitable investments, a home, or status, do not vote as long as they perceive no direct effect of politics on their lives. To many voters in 1976, voting machines had as much political significance as slot machines, though many still thought it important to pull the levers.

What are the explanations for the lack of choices, for the apathy and cynicism of voters and nonvoters alike: a decline of party definition, of party hegemony? Disgust with any politician's assumed moral depravity? The remoteness of officials beyond campaign time, and the

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ascendancy of television as a political tool, *during* campaigns?

A little bit of all that, it seems. The nature of national campaigning has changed with television and the reams of recognition money buys. Men like Carter and Reagan can buck their clan's chiefs with a smile and a Madison Avenue account, and run for the dead center which Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg said in *The Real Majority* was essential for a successful national campaign. With candidates deliberately offering vague and purposeless profiles, as Wattenberg and Scammon recommended, voting for many has become vague and purposeless too.

It is significant that two political stars on the national horizon—Ronald Reagan and Jerry Brown—are, as Nixon was, from California, where traditional party strength is weak. The nonpartisan nature of California's local elections and the size of the state encourage the kind of campaigning that today puts Presidents in the White House: extraordinary amounts of electronic advertising and low grass-roots involvement, an emphasis upon style and personality over issues and political deliveries. Brown, Reagan and Nixon have all been accused of pursuing national ambitions at the expense of their nominal parties—largely accurate charges.

The respective careers of these three men point to a recent evolution in American politics: the major parties changing from pools of collective aspirations into props for individual careerists. John Connally's *pro forma* shuffle from Democrat to Republican and John Lindsay's the other way illustrate this trend perfectly. In this age important candidates are moving beyond party, and coincidentally, many citizens are moving beyond voting.

This, at least, is social scientist Carl Ladd, Jr.'s assessment in his slight book, *Where Have All the Voters Gone?* A Gallup poll taken after the 1976 election showing 22% of the electorate identifying itself as Republican, 47% Democratic, and 31% Independent indicates to him that the major political parties are no longer able to perform their three primary functions: competition, representation, and organization of the electorate and the government. The parties themselves are split internally, the Republican between its Right and Center, the Democratic between Left Right and Center. There are indications that it may not be long before one or both of the major parties splits formally.

Ladd, however, chooses to ignore these implications and calls for a return to the days when party regulars selected candidates and turned out the party faithful for a straight row vote. His nostalgia for the former Daley machine in Chicago is embarrassing, and shows to what lengths this social scientist would go for a statistical surge at the polls (he neglects to mention that Daley's get-out-the-vote campaigns were often conducted in graveyards). An illusion of consensus is more important to him than true representation.

Three or four times before in American history, voter turnout has dropped as badly as it has in recent years. It has always come back. One resurgence was inspired by a war hero and a new party

THE DEBT

I owe a debt to the night,
I must pay it back, darkness for darkness
plus interest.
I must make something out of almost nothing,
I can't pay back by just not sleeping
night after night. I hear them screaming
in the streets of New York, "What? What? What?"

I can't write a check to the night,
or a promissory note: "I'll write songs."
Only the nightmare is legal tender.
I bribe owls, I appeal
to creatures of the night: "Help me
raccoons, catfish, snakes!"
I put my head in the tunnel of a raccoon,
pick up a fish spine in my mouth.
Perhaps the night will accept this?
Dying is my only asset.

These days driving along I turn up my brights.
I love and am grateful for anything that lights
the darkness: matches, fireworks, fireflies.
My friend who's been to Antarctica
tells me against the ice when the sun is high
you see the shadow of the earth.
The night after all is just a shadow . . .
The debt keeps mounting.

I try to repay something by remembering
my Dante, the old five and ten thousand lira notes
had Dante's face etched on the front.
(I bought that cheap). Hard cash to the night
is finding out what I do not want to know
about myself, no facts acceptable,
—a passage through darkness,
where one I stop to ask, "Why? What?"
is always myself, I cannot recognize.

If only I could coin nightmares:
—a barnyard in Asia,
the last dog and cat betrayed, are no more.
A small herd of three-legged blind cows
still gives milk.
A pig with a missing snout, its face like a moon,
wades in a brook.
A horse, its mane burnt to cinders,
a rear hip socket shot off, tries to get up
thrusting its muzzle into the dark grass.
A rooster pecks without a beak or a coxcomb.
A rabbit that eats stones, sips without a tongue,
runs without feet.
A ditch of goats, sheep and oxen
locked in some kind of embrace.
All move their faces away,
refuse the charity of man
the warrior, the domesticator.

I see a whale with eyes yards apart
swimming out of the horizon,
surfacing as if it were going to die,
with a last disassociated vision,
one eye at peace
peers down into the valleys and mountains
of the ocean, the other eye floats,
tries to talk with its lids to the multitude.
While in the great head
what is happening and what happened mingle,
for neither has to be.
I pray for some of my eyes to open
and some to close.
It is the night itself that provides
a forgiveness.

Stanley Moss

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(Andrew Jackson and the Democrats, 1828), another by a depression (1932). Mr. Hadley offers several less drastic remedies than war and depression to fortify the electorate: virtuous candidates, compelling issues, more energetic parties. Election Day as a holiday. Mr. Ladd wants stronger parties.

The most obvious conclusions drawn from both of these studies is that more Americans will vote when they feel the need to. When a strong leader-figure comes upon a national problem or catastrophe—depression, war, civil strife, massive inflation—and offers a sensible solution to it, turnout will increase dramatically. If the leader delivers some solutions, as FDR did, even more will turn out for the next election to voice approval. Voters create parties, not vice versa, and issues create voters.

Hadley's survey does not indicate enough outrage in the electorate to back a prediction of any immediate change in the nation's voting pattern. As long as a candidate needs 42% of the popular vote to be elected President a third party ascendancy is remote, though that does not preclude one (or two) from forming and beginning to challenge ballot exclusions and the electoral college system. With Goldwater's, Humphrey's, McGovern's and Reagan's failing to appeal to a broad spectrum of their own parties, and Ford's, Carter's and Brown's looking alike, traditional loyalties are slackening and alternatives are possible.

Undoubtedly a significant third party born of either of the major ones (labor or blacks from the Democratic Party, Reaganites from the Republican) would be fatal to the mother, but this may be what finally draws out the voters with some choices before some national catastrophe does. □

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

At one time, long ago, it was "Britannia Rules the Waves," but ever since 1956 the English theatre appears to have adopted the guying slogan of "Britannia waives the rules." From John Osborne to the present, "serious" plays look back and ahead in anger. Not indignation alone motivates them but self-loathing as well.

The tendency is frequently masked in comedy. Authors and audiences jeer at what they were and have become. Two of the most virulent examples of the mode during the past twenty-five years on the English stage may be found in Joe Orton's last plays, *Loot* and *What the Butler Saw*, which are farces. Their main impulse is typically murderous.

There has been and still is much theatre talent in this manifestation. Time and again I have acknowledged my respect for the skill of speech and intelligence of form in a good deal of this dramaturgy reflecting the bitterness the English feel at their empire's fall from grace and power. In the American theatre, there is very little of that kind of confrontation with the distortions of our civilization. When we attempt such things, it is usually in our theatrical "underground," and in an adolescent, awkward or simply amateurish manner.

I have thus felt obliged to praise many of the English plays referred to even when I did not "enjoy" them. The abscesses, wounds, scars were matters which, like all evil, had to be declared, even when they were not denounced. But, it is important to emphasize, the real value of such declarations depends on the spirit that animates them, something more constructive than disgust or venom.

In the depressed or savage reactions to the sorry state of their nation, English playwrights are no longer content to expose, mock or inveigh against the present moral and material collapse; they go back to the past to prove how obtuse, hypocritical or vicious England has been. Not only such recent men as, for example, Winston Churchill have become objects of derision but also many of the celebrated "greats" of Britain's older history.

In 1970 a melodrama called *Conduct Unbecoming* failed here, though it had been highly successful in London. It tried to contrast one honorable officer among the British military contingent in India with some of the thoroughly malevolent ones in the higher ranks. But it was a crude piece of work. Now Simon Gray, who writes smoothly and deftly and gives evidence of intellectual sophistication and wit, has written the appropriately titled *The Rear Column* which is presented at the Manhattan Theatre Club. Its target is a remnant of British colonial forces in the Congo in 1886 and 1887.

They have been left at an outpost in charge of the restive natives until their commander H.M. Stanley (of Stanley-Livingstone fame) sends back for them to advance to a more protected position with the supplies—food, medicine, combat equipment, etc.—needed for his further progress into the interior. The commanding officer, Major Barttelot (a historical character, as are most of his subalterns), is a fanatic in the discharge of his duties, totally obedient to his commission without any use of common sense or imagination. He is stupidly cruel in complying with the letter of his instructions: not only flogging natives to death for any breach of discipline but denying quinine to his own men ill with malaria because he has not been specifically ordered to let them have it. There is humiliation and suffering on all sides. While one man, especially, is given to constant protest, no one deserts.

Barttelot's closest aide, Mr. Jameson, the one person everyone admires for his steadfastness, his reasonableness and his always humane attitude whenever the situation approaches a crisis, has gone mad because of the surrounding circumstances. He finally participates in cannibalism: the slaughter and eating of an 11-year-old black girl. Even the already berserk major, who after killing his docile black servant allows himself to be shot by an outraged native upon whose wife he has brutally trampled, is horrified by Jameson's depraved act.

When Stanley at last appears and hears what has happened he comments on Major Barttelot's misunderstanding of the instructions which he had received and the complete idiocy of the blind and slavish stringency with which they had been carried out. To this he adds something to the effect that there is a sadist under the skin of most English gentlemen. And that seems to be the point of the play.

The point by now has become dulled: the play, for all its harshness, is hardly more interesting than R.C. Sheriff's more sentimental 1929 war play, *Journey's End*. Indeed, it made me think of the late 19th-century patriotic novel in reverse. In characterization, suspense and neat fluency of writing, it hardly marks an advance over what has been accomplished in England (and elsewhere) on many previous occasions. It voices the same curse we find in such films as *The Charge of the Light Brigade* and *The Bridge on the River Kwai*, but it is much less fun. Still, if it were cut by half an hour it would prove a fairly effective and plausible shocker.

Whether or not James Hammerstein, the director, wanted to avoid the traditional British understatement, the tone in which such plays are usually acted, I do not know, but *The Rear Column* is being rendered more or less fortissimo from beginning to end. The good enough actors—I particularly liked Benjamin Hendrickson—have been directed to indicate their reaction so blatantly that almost all of them appear cracked from the outset. Remak Ramsay's hysterical vehemence, with eyes flashing and teeth all but gnashing, comes close to turning Major Barttelot into a splendid comic performance. □

Coming Soon: An essay by Terrence Des Pres: "Czeslaw Milosz: The Poetry of Aftermath."

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ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

An exhibition called "Artists' Books and Notations" (Touchstone Gallery, 118 E. 64th Street, New York) touched on several loosely defined tendencies in recent art. The show closed on November 30 so this review is unfortunately too late for readers to see it, but some issues it raises are of wider interest. Artists' books are not the same as artists' statements, which are essentially verbal accounts of the motives and intentions behind the art itself. Artists' books, though they may cast light on their authors' art, do so incidentally; the books are conceived as verbal or visual entities. Sol Lewitt is the most prolific and inventive fabricator of such books, which are often somewhere between a small-press book of poems and an exhibition catalogue.

Michelle Stuart's books, which were among those shown at Touchstone, resist sequential reading. They are not meant to be opened but consist of leaves of very thick paper, bound together like levels of geological strata. The paper is impressed with earth from different locales: each book, blond, earthen, or pink, emits fine site-specific dust. The book, instead of conveying information, is turned into an object that implies geological duration. It is as if the journal of a desert journey, with the passage of time, returns to the desert.

Eric Siegeltuch defines his selection of works for the exhibition as a response to those artists who use "sequential and linear modes." These forms of discourse in time are, of course, in opposition to the single simultaneous spatial apprehension of art demanded by abstract painting theory. Hence his term, notation, covers a mass of discursive content. It includes the random scatter of graffiti, the tidy but provisional sorting of artifacts on an archaeological site, and the regularity of a printout. But common to them all is the equation of marks with human activity, not with formal checks and balances.

There are two loose tendencies in recent art that have not yet been definitely named. One is art as an elaborate projection of the self. In one sense, of course, the first person of the artist is expressed in all personally originated painting and sculpture: it has been a constituent of art since the Renaissance. What is at issue here, however, is the use of confessions, souvenirs and calendars. The other tendency derives from a notion of art as the simulation of social systems—from imaginary museums to the picturesque anthropology of whole cultures. The two modes, of expanded autobiography and legible societies, approach one another. Both exemplify an art of human traces, whether the perspective is that of the diarist or of the weather satellite. Both modes are sampled by Siegeltuch.

The imagery of imagined cultures is demonstrated by Paul Zelevansky, his being the largest work shown, but only a fragment of his project, "The Case for the Burial of Ancestors." He describes in accompanying texts his accretion of parts as a "visual novel" dealing with "an ancient desert people," who are treated as somewhere between a Smithsonian report and Frank Herbert's science-fiction series, *Dune*. It can be viewed, as the artist/author observes, as "a portable shrine"—full of mysteriously precious objects. It is also an extension of the *assemblage* of the 1950s, but where that movement celebrated the contemporaneity of the modern city from which its components, in the form of waste, were derived, the new work enters folklore and evocation.

There is a literary parallel here in an ongoing sequence of poems by Armand Schwerner, *The Tablets*. In the persona of the scholar-translator, he worries that he may "have been responsible for occasional jocose invention rather than strict archaeological findings" (*The Tablets I-VIII*. The Cummington Press, 1968). In Schwerner there is comedy in the tension between the unintelligible but authentic remains and their diligent but absolutely hypothetical reconstruction. In quasi-archaeological art this disparity is unified as a lyrical sense that anything goes, that everything connotes. Another relation of art work and text is proposed by Alice Aycock, well-known for her use of primitive architectural structures as sculpture. Her drawings for sculptures include a scenario that provides a sense of the rites of a newly invented but "timeless" tribe. Incidentally, an exhibition called "Dwellings" (Neuberger Museum, State University of New York at Purchase until January 21) surveys art of this sort (including Aycock's) more systematically.

Several artists in the show took possession of ready-made printed material in terms of the first person. These included Jerry Crimmins's collages of photos and postcards, John McClurg's nostalgic comic strips and Karen Shaw's translations of the numbers on supermarket bills and of football players' identifying numerals into a personal word code. Common to their practice is the rapid conversion of bits of life into personal art, avoiding the "slow" channels of painting or sculpture in favor of a vivid suddenness.

"Artists' Books and Notations," then, is about the ways by which language has entered recent visual art, formerly protected from such incursions by the prestige of Form. If artists use words in their work it is not because they are now more dependent on writers or on theory than in the past, as has been suggested, but because language has become available as subject matter. To go back to artists' books: they are regularly on view at Franklin Furnace, 112 Franklin St., New York City. And Printed Matter, 105 Hudson St., New York City, publishes an extraordinary range of artists' books at very low prices. □

Indigenous Music

NAT HENTOFF

In the 1950s, a startling number of college students were passionately knowledgeable about such phenomena as Child ballads—both the distant British versions and their American transformations by weathered bards in the Appalachians. It was a time of unprecedented interest in all kinds of folk music, but much of that zeal fell away during the 1960s when vastly ecumenical rock sounds ensorcelled the young. An epiphany of that transition was when Bob Dylan, who had begun as a Woody Guthrie-based folk singer, switched to electric guitar. There was angry mourning among some of the young, but in time, they too followed him.

A few converts, however, stubbornly stayed with folk sounds. One, Alice Gerrard, had originally come from a background in classical music, but at Antioch College she was much taken with Southern mountain music, including bluegrass. In Washington, Alice met a veritable embodiment of the music she was trying to make her own: Hazel Dickens, from West Virginia coal-mining country and the daughter of a Baptist preacher.

The two began singing together in 1962, and in time Alice Gerrard, because of an overwhelming will to get inside this music, did exactly that. They worked in bars, but at first they mostly developed their pungently complementary styles in people's living rooms and kitchens. By the late 1960s, they had become one of the more emotionally penetrating duos in the country field, singing both traditional songs and new pieces that tell, without condescension or idealization, about the lives of people who are too straight, though burdened, to get into rock lyrics.

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In their best album so far (*Hazel Dickens and Alice Gerrard*, Rounder 0054), for instance, there is Alice's "Mama's Gonna Stay," about the woman of the house, getting up at 5 A.M. and creeping down to the first floor just so she can have a touch of the "sad, sweet feeling of being all alone . . . before the world comes crashing down the stairs." Alice, by the way, has four kids, and the song came out of her life.

There is also what might be called an entirely naturalistic vignette of a woman, "Mary Johnson," who is in a bar, but *not* looking to be picked up. ("I'm just sittin' in this barroom, and my name is Mary Johnson, and Lord, my feet are killing me.") A man in that establishment cannot believe that all Mary Johnson needs and wants is a drink, but he finds out.

Similarly, in Hazel Dickens's "Ramblin' Woman," the notion that every woman must have a man, permanent or transient, in order to be "complete," is zestfully skewered. ("Take all that sweet talk and give it so some other girl who'd be happy to rock your baby and lives in your kind of world . . . for I'm a ramblin' woman and you're a home-lovin' man."

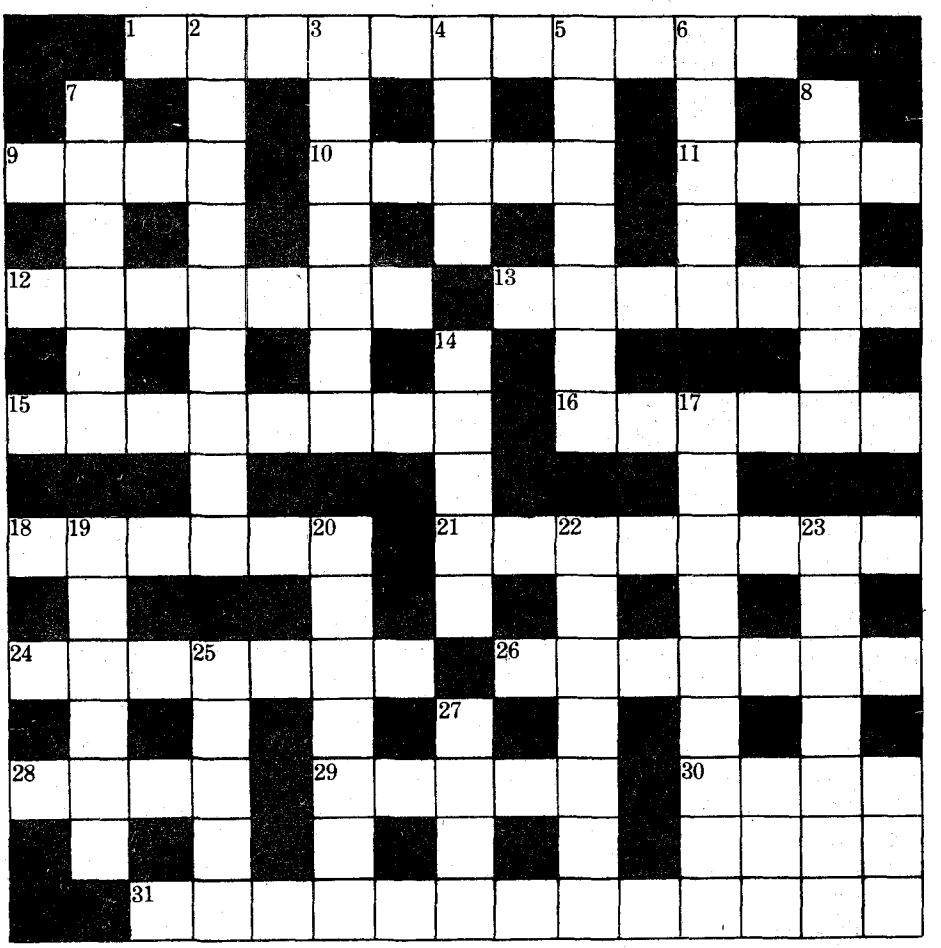
Among other Hazel and Alice albums are *Who's That Knocking?/Bluegrass Country Music* (Folkways) and *Hazel & Alice* (Rounder). In her liner notes to the latter, Alice Gerrard talks about how these days, this duo performs not only in clubs and at folk festivals but also before coal miners and their families, as well as at welfare rights benefits and in women's songs workshops. After all, as Hazel Dickens adds, this kind of music comes right out of people's lives, and so to sing it right, you have to be part of those lives.

Hazel is heard on another Rounder set, *Come All You Coal Miners*, with such other folk who sing all too true stories as Sarah Gunning, Nimrod Workman and George Tucker. The titles illuminate the album: "Both Lungs Is Broke Down," "Cold Blooded Murder" and "Mannington Mine Disaster." No theme there for any rock star.

The Rounder label is worth looking into because it is a reservoir of albums, some quite rare, spanning country music, black blues, jazz and diverse folk sounds. In addition to its own releases, Rounder handles a number of small labels, imported and domestic. For a catalogue, write Marian Leighton, Rounder Records, 186 Willow Avenue, Somerville, Mass. 02144. Among its collectors' items is the Library of Congress set by Aunt Molly Jackson, a gun-toting union organizer in the Kentucky coal mines for forty-seven years before she was banished in 1931. ("While we walk in the mud/Their flag's the old, red, white and blue/And ours is dipped in blood./Join the CIO. Come join the CIO.") □

Crossword Puzzle No. 1752

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Mutual effort represented by a little elbow-bending? (That's what one expects if the "dive" is really jumping!) (5,6)
9 and 10 Not a wealthy athletic activity for one who is a bad loser. (4,5)
11 Descriptive of the consequence of a wild ride? (4)
12 Established procedures could be with us, trial and error. (7)
13 Cast aspersions on the far left? Such a speech is a little thick! (7)
15 What might make paste around the wrong end of the fish? (8)
16 Concedes the ground to bears? (6)
18 Raiders sometimes descended on them, according to selected shots from the movies. (6)
21 Scratch with the claws—it's only a game! (8)
24 Make an accelerated effort to get a variety of sauce? (7)
26 What one puts on to prevent biting the bullets might come out here. (7)
28 29 and 30 To tell the truth, does this imply one should grow a beard? (4-5,4)
31 How one approaches Rabbit Ears in Colorado, as it happens. (5,2,4,)

DOWN

2 and 8 Someone we both know and like, according to Dickens. (3,6,6)
3 Lay close and snug, since home came first, obviously. (7)
4 You might find a number on a well-known river. (4)
5 All for the purpose of counting? (7)
6 What we get all the time comes up with a blushing look. (5)
7 Is coal responsible for the old party gathering? (6)
8 See 2 down
14 How one might get over being somewhat ill-natured? (5)
17 If one does, what one does (though illegally) is appropriate. (9)
19 Emperor who raised the level of aesthetic skill a short time? (6)
20 Get the pack ready for a walk that should be far from brisk. (7)
22 News summary of a western event? (5-2)
23 A little extra time given, according to the Southern general's manner. (6)
25 Part of an acre does, I believe. (5)
27 Tax applied to one in only part of Great Britain? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1751

ACROSS: 1 and 5 Distress signal; 10 Aches; 12 Acolyte; 13 Beats up; 14 Abbess; 15 Resound; 18 Abysses; 24 Gallant; 26 Unlatch; 27 Sostenuto; 28 Aaron; 29 Onside; 30 True blue. DOWN: 1 and 11 Dead as a doornail; 2 Schoolboy; 3 Restyle; 4 Sealegs; 6 Inroads; 7 Nears; 8 Lily pads; 9 and 21 across Robber barons; 16 Unnatural; 17 Sargasso; 19 Seaweed; 20 Set out; 21 Boudoir; 22 Release; 23 Change; 25 Lists.

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